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EDITORIAL

COUNTING THE JEWS

So George Bush had, as deputy chair of his party's national committee, a man who obeyed Richard Nixon's order to compile a Jew count in the Bureau of Labor Statistics. (Two of those he fingered were removed to other posts; *ergo*, it wasn't just a matter of Nixon's fetid curiosity.) No sweat, says Abraham Foxman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Frederic Malek's obedience to orders is ancient history.

This would not be the first time that official Jewry has held its fire when the American establishment talks anti-Semitism, while emptying the vials of its anger over the politically unrespectable. When Gen. George Brown, former chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, warned that Jews own the banks and newspapers ("You just look at where the Jewish money is"), he was let off with barely a caution. When Jerry Falwell pandered in similar fashion, he received a Jabotinsky Award from Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Nixon has given ample evidence, on his tapes and in conversation even with Henry Kissinger, of his feelings toward Jews. Yet *Commentary* never ceases to mourn Watergate as a defeat for America and a victory for the subversives, while reserving its spite for Gore Vidal.

The distinction is an alarmingly plain one. Bush, Nixon, Falwell and Brown are all staunch, uncritical defenders of anything the state of Israel does. Nobody with such credentials is going to face the music of organized Jewish sanctimony, unless they are actually caught daubing a synagogue. On the other hand, no aside will be forgiven Jesse Jackson or any other figure who is not sound on the Holy State.

It is not just that this discrimination is lenient with the powerful and highhanded with the mavericks. More to the point, it downgrades the serious charge of anti-Semitism to a mere grace note of propaganda.

**GEORGE BUSH,
FLAG WAVER**
Christopher
Hitchens

**BETTER
CHILD CARE**
Nancy Folbre
Heidi Hartmann

JAPAN'S 'MIRACLE'

Doug Henwood

BIOLOGICAL WARFARE LIES

Charles Piller

POLLSTERS
Benjamin
Ginsberg

**TOM HAYDEN'S
'REUNION'**
Mary E. King

CHILEAN PLEBISCITE

DEMOCRACY Vs. FEAR AND PROPAGANDA

CYNTHIA BROWN

Either the people express their confidence in the government, or we'll start all over again from the beginning. — Gen. Fernando Matthei, May 25

Santiago, Chile

Matthei, the chief of the Chilean Air Force, was referring to the outcome of the October 5 presidential plebiscite. His comment contrasted with earlier statements that the armed forces would abide by the results of the yes-or-no vote that supposedly will lead Chile through a transition to democracy in the next eight years. The most outspoken member of Chile's governing junta and long known to be uncomfortable with the continuation of Gen. Augusto Pinochet as president, Matthei has been a bellwether of shifting military sentiments.

Matthei's threat reflected the government's anxiety over the dramatic changes of the previous four months. In January, during the Chilean summer, the opposition to Pinochet and his military regime was floundering; by May, opposition parties had formed an effective coalition and were on their way to gaining the right to have poll-watchers at every voting site. In January, fewer than 4 million of Chile's 8.1 million eligible voters were registered, and most analysts believed that the majority were Pinochet supporters, since the government had intensively promoted "yes" registration; by May, largely as a result of opposition campaigning, there were almost 6 million voters registered, and polls were showing that

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LETTERS.

WALDEN II

New Haven

There is something disturbingly undemocratic about Jane Holtz Kay's report on the situation at Walden Pond ["Wall to Wall at Walden," June 18]. The vision communicated, that of unwashed hordes trampling a sacred temple, presupposes that all men and women of staunch moral fiber should, indeed must, come to the defense of this holy site. Ban the Swimmers—in their ignorance, they defile.

With Cambridge twenty minutes away and Boston another ten, Walden is not a wilderness. Yet despite this surrounding sea of urbanites, something essentially uplifting pervades the place, even amidst the crowds of a hot summer day. An unspoken understanding has grown among all parties. Families frequent the state beach, walkers traverse the circumferential path, local kids gather in the mid-sized flat spots (such as Walden's cove), small groups scatter along the shore and overlooking slopes, and the surprisingly clean waters of this 100-plus-foot-deep pond (outboard motors banned!) delight swimmers of all talents. In fact, groups mix and interchange—the teen hikes while the Somerville couple takes a dip. Best of all, the boom box is outnumbered by the Scrabble board, and seclusion is available a mere hundred yards away from the shore.

These are the citizens who have entered the altar. Is what they pursue alien to the quest we engage when wilderness we seek? More likely, sadly burdened with a landscape blockaded by reservoirs, private property and pollution, we are engaging in pilgrimage (albeit motorized) for the purposes of water-borne rejuvenation.

It is these aspirations that must be examined alongside the desires to turn Walden into a sanctuary. The preservationists are quick to dress their quest with the mantle of inherent superiority—a presumption contradicting the democratic spirit that is cousin to the "wilderness that is salvation." It is certain that a Walden preserved in its literary state would resonate with many of our visions, providing an increment of inspiration. It is also certain that to accomplish such preservation, most of us won't be allowed to participate.

Perhaps the wear and tear, and the necessary mitigating measures, that this pond is subject to have significantly cheapened the lives of millions of *Walden* enthusiasts. If so, perhaps the planet would be better served by transformation of this 500-acre forest into a museum. I would hope that the widespread Thoreauvians have better sense, and realize that the dream transcends the particulars of its inspiration, that the legitimacy of hundreds of thousands of "recreators" is not so righteously dismissed. *Daniel Hellerstein*

KAY REPLIES

Boston

Are we all so imbued with this Reagan era's shortfalls, cutbacks and denials that the only solution to the genuine need to provide recreation for the many is at the expense of sacred shrines and physically fragile places? Why should only Walden be asked to supply such needs? Why not new water-oriented public facilities everywhere? In fact, the more expansive, nonelitist solution of the pre-Dukakis environmentalist Governor Francis Sargent was to set aside a nearby swatch of land for flooding as a swimming hole. That plan, like so many other public-sector visions, died in the privatist decade that followed. But isn't it time to expand our outlook? Scandinavian countries regularly build municipal pools for the people. Why can't we be more creative in providing in-town, energy-hoarding, life-enhancing public recreation places throughout America in the name of Thoreau and our impacted environment? *Jane Holtz Kay*

'BACKLISTED'

Kensington, Calif.

Roy Cohn, opening a McCarthy committee hearing March 24, 1953: "Mr. Mandel, would you give us your full name, please?" Senator Karl Mundt had just Jew-baited the previous witness, Sol Auerbach, for having used the name James Allen in writing his book on post-Civil War Reconstruction. Therefore I replied: "My name is William Marx Mandel. And to save you the trouble of bringing out any possible pseudonym, as you did in the matter of Mr. Auerbach, I would like to make it clear that I am a Jew."

Cohn: "That you are what?" I: "That I am a Jew." Cohn: "So am I, and I don't see that that is an issue here." I: "A Jew who works for McCarthy is thought of very ill by most of the Jewish people in this country."

Later, Cohn: "Has the *National Guardian* been conducting quite a vigorous campaign in defense of the convicted atom spies?" I: "Who are you referring to?" Cohn: "Julius and Ethel Rosenberg." I: "I wanted to make that clear, the convicted what?" Cohn: "Atom spies." I: "Do you know your law, Mr. Cohn?" Cohn: "Well, I prosecuted the case, and I think—" I interrupted: "What were those people convicted of?" Cohn: "They were convicted of conspiracy." I: "Exactly, and conspiracy is not espionage." (Conspiracy law makes it possible to find one guilty by association.)

Turning from the transcript to the *New York Times* front-page report the next day: "Later Mr. McCarthy paid tribute to the Jews [but] 'Every race has its renegades,' Mr. McCarthy said. 'It certainly does,' snapped the witness, glaring at Mr. Cohn."

At another point in the interrogation,

Cohn asked me about an article of mine in the *American Sociological Review*. Excerpts are essential to the purpose of the present letter:

For the future, it is to be expected that repressive and . . . extra-Constitutional measures . . . will disappear as the world position of the USSR becomes more secure and the possibility of another 'crusade against Bolshevism' disappears. . . . Efforts will be made to involve ever larger sections of the population in the administration of the country. . . . It is quite possible that Soviet electoral practice may be amended to permit the name of more than one candidate to appear on the final ballot. . . . Changes not affecting basic principle have already been made partly in response to foreign sentiment, with regard to the status of the church hierarchy, for example. . . . If changes such as [these] will help eliminate suspicions regarding the representative nature and the intentions of the Soviet government . . . the USSR can be expected to make them.

Contrast that to the following statement by Professor Robert Legvold, head of the Harriman Institute at Columbia University, the United States' leading Sovietological think tank, broadcasting from Moscow on ABC-TV this May 31: "Things are happening in the Soviet Union that none of us in the business of studying the Soviet Union thought we would see in our lives or the lives of our children."

The changes I had forecast in 1944, when my article appeared, were a long time coming, partly because the then still-to-be-born discipline of Sovietology did so effective a job of convincing us that totalitarianism was inherent in that society, that it was an evil empire and that organizing another crusade against Bolshevism should be U.S. policy. But they came in my active lifetime, although I am a full generation older than Legvold.

A review and discussion of books about Roy Cohn [see Robert Sherrill, "King Cohn," May 21] is meaningful only if it compels us to confront that which was shameful in America's submission to McCarthyism, just as the Germans, the Argentinians, the Chinese and the Austrians are confronting their past.

One aspect of that is to restore in full, to "rehabilitate," totally, the good name and professional employment of those rendered unpersons by repressive methods, here as in the Soviet Union. In the American tradition, it is totally normal to nominate oneself for public office. Fine. I want to nominate myself for "rehabilitation." In the years before the cold war, I was one of the accepted American authorities on the Soviet Union.

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EDITORIALS.

Dying for Haiti

The cacophony of tragic news sounding out of Burma, Burundi, Bangladesh and other troubled areas comfortably far away tends to deaden our hearing to the grim developments much closer to home—not least in Haiti, where the September 11 attack on the church of the Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide is just the latest indicator of the enormous problems Haitian democrats face.

Aristide, an outspoken priest who is among the very few important opposition figures who have not stopped speaking out against an increasingly repressive regime [see Amy Wilentz, "The Priest Who Fights the Regime," *The Nation*, September 12, 1987], was the target of a number of brutal attacks during the months leading up to last November's aborted election. But none gave a hint of the horror to come. On September 11, as Aristide began to say morning mass before a congregation of about 800, a mob of thugs started hurling stones at his church; a few minutes later, a crowd of men burst through the building's main doors.

Armed with machetes, sticks and guns—like the thugs who attacked voters last November 29—the men slashed, beat and shot at everything that moved. At least nine people were killed and more than seventy were wounded. Protected by his bodyguards, Aristide managed to escape unharmed.

The attackers, who wore the red armbands of the Tonton Macoutes, the former Duvalier regime's infamous secret police, burned down the church and set fire to the cars of the congregants. They then held the church complex under siege for more than three hours while the army, the police and the fire department sat by with arms folded. The police finally cordoned off the area and refused to allow journalists to enter. However, the next night some of the attackers appeared on the government-run television station and declared they were prepared to strike again. That night they burned down another church.

The next day, Port au Prince Mayor Franck Romain, a Duvalierist, acknowledged what congregants at the church had alleged: that many among the attackers worked for City Hall. He denied responsibility for the siege, however, and said in reference to Aristide's fiery sermons: "Who sows the wind reaps the storm." A few days before the attack, Romain had a long meeting at City Hall with Gen. Henri Namphy, Haiti's current military dictator. Clearly, the attack was well organized and planned in advance, and the green light was given from on high. Against such formidable opponents, it seems unlikely that Haitian democrats—without the help of strong friends abroad—can organize an effective opposition.

Michael Hooper, who died of cancer on September 8, at the age of 41, was just such a friend. The founder and executive director of the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, Hooper had used his unflagging energy and passion for justice over the past six years to help Haitians begin digging their way out of the misery and oppression that have ruled their country for decades. He defended their rights as refugees in this country. He lobbied Congress against military aid and human rights certification for the dictatorial regime that came to power after Jean-Claude Duvalier departed in 1986. He worked hard to help Haitians put together the coalitions he hoped would lead to free and fair elections last year. In spite of threats to his life, he went to Port au Prince and worked from dawn to dawn getting out the vote. Those elections ended, of course, when soldiers and Duvalierists opened fire on a major polling place, killing thirty-four people.

Hooper also brought his faith in Haiti's ability to build a democratic future to articles he wrote for this magazine. His

belief in the Haiti that exists in the hearts and minds of that nation's democrats was always clear in his writing and remained strong to his death. It will be just that much harder for Haiti to rise from the ashes with him gone.

InterNation II

Is Duncan Campbell (who spoke eloquently about opportunities for investigative research into the economics, politics and genesis of AIDS) the Seymour Hersh of the United Kingdom, or is Seymour Hersh (who gave a keynote address on the disincentives to investigative journalism) the Duncan Campbell of the United States? This was only the most frivolous question debated over the course of two days at the Second International Conference on Investigative Journalism. Last year's meeting was held in Amsterdam under the auspices of *The Nation* and *Vrij Nederland*, the Dutch weekly; this year's was at the Royal Holloway College in Egham, a half-hour from London, co-sponsored by *The Nation* and *New Statesman & Society*, the British weekly.

The purpose of these conferences is to facilitate investigative reporting across national boundaries, a mission whose importance was underlined throughout the conference. Andreas Whittam-Smith, editor of the British daily *The Independent*; Praful Bidwai, senior assistant editor of *The Times of India*; and Peter Wivel, editor in chief of Denmark's *Information*, reported on the blunt instruments with which various governments have sought to bludgeon and suppress the free flow of ideas.

Panel discussions focused on such abstract issues as the relation of truth to fact (not to mention factoids) and such concrete ones as how to report the real story behind the economic integration of Europe (like delving into the Deutsches Bank's plans). They also touched on such troubling matters as the cutback in TV investigative units, the myth of evenhandedness, scoopism, the dangers posed by disinformation and the fact that only 2 percent of the flow of global information originates in the Southern Hemisphere. Much of the business of the conference, however, was done after hours, as editors, writers and documentary filmmakers planned joint ventures or arranged to use Scott Armstrong's invaluable National Security Archive in Washington.

At a Sunday morning roundtable, "InterNation Nuts and Bolts," members of InterNation (this magazine's attempt to form a consortium of like-minded publications drawing on a global network of contributors to publish investigative articles of international significance) reviewed stories published in the past year, considered ways to improve communication and generally conspired to put in place a structure that will in the future track multinationals, environmental polluters, price fixers, arms traders and assorted other villains.

The conference was made possible by grants from the British Civil Liberties Trust, the Aaron Diamond Foundation, the Clara Miller Foundation and others. As the conference departed, the question seemed to be not whether to do

COMING UP

Stephen F. Cohen on the next President's historic opportunity to end the cold war

Herman Schwartz on what to expect in the next session of the Supreme Court

"Cuba," a special issue

it again but where. The prevailing view seemed to be that, with the internationalization of the news and the conglomeratization of the mainstream media, the time was long overdue to bring together our voices so we can amplify them.

Nuclear Crash?

Sometime in the next few weeks a crippled Soviet reconnaissance satellite known as Cosmos 1900 will drop out of its orbit and plunge to the earth. What happens next is a matter of considerable concern—and controversy—because Cosmos 1900 is unlike most of the space junk that re-enters the atmosphere every day. It is radioactive.

The satellite has a working nuclear reactor containing more than a hundred pounds of enriched uranium 235. Moscow says there is nothing to worry about because Cosmos 1900 will automatically eject its fuel rods at the last minute, and they will burn up in the upper atmosphere. Yes, the Russians admit, everyone in the world will be exposed to the radioactivity; but it will be a relatively tiny amount, well within the limits recommended by the International Commission on Radiological Protection. No one will die. No one will get cancer. This is no flying Chernobyl.

American scientists are not believers, the warming of superpower relations notwithstanding. "I think it is unacceptable to have any substantial release of radioactivity into the atmosphere," says Steven Aftergood, executive director of the Committee to Bridge the Gap, a Los Angeles-based public interest group that focuses on nuclear issues. One of America's most respected space experts, Nicholas Johnson, of Teledyne Brown Engineering, sees it a different way. He says flatly that Cosmos 1900 is not likely to eject its fuel rods. Instead, it will probably plunge to earth intact, its hardened body acting as a heat shield for the reactor core inside. No one knows where it will land. But Johnson is quick to note that three-quarters of the earth is water and predicts the satellite will drop into the sea, just as its predecessor, Cosmos 1402, did more than five years ago.

Other U.S. scientists are just as quick to note that one-quarter of the earth is land—and that people are living on some of it. They say the satellite could strike New York City or Chicago, as imaginably as it could fall into the Indian Ocean or the Caspian Sea. Ten years ago another reactor-powered satellite, Cosmos 954, splattered radioactive debris over nearly 40,000 square miles of northern Canada near Great Slave Lake. The Canadians scoured the region, picking up several pounds of radioactive debris and more than 3,000 tiny balls of enriched uranium—another reason to worry. If recovered, the enriched uranium 235 in Cosmos 1900 could be used to build an arsenal of nuclear weapons. As Joel Primack, a nuclear physicist at the University of California, Santa Cruz, observes, Colonel Qaddafi wouldn't mind hosting the return of Cosmos 1900 at all.

If it has to happen, Cosmos 1900 couldn't be happening at a better time. The satellite is coming down just as a joint committee of top-flight Soviet and U.S. scientists are begin-

ning to lobby hard against nuclear reactors in orbit, including those envisioned by the Strategic Defense Initiative. The leader of the Soviet delegation is none other than Roald Sagdeev, chief of his country's space program and personal adviser to Mikhail Gorbachev on space and disarmament. Although the U.S. side doesn't include anyone with such access to Ronald Reagan, it does include a formidable array of talent. Its chair, Frank von Hippel, a Princeton University physicist, heads a team from the Federation of American Scientists, a group counting forty-three Nobel laureates as members.

So far, these scientists' efforts seem to be paying off. The Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, headed by J. Bennett Johnston, held public hearings on September 13. And Representative George Brown Jr. expects to introduce legislation calling for a ban on nuclear power in space. Brown is impressed by the possibility—however faint—that the Soviet Union might give up its reactor-powered satellites. The satellites, including Cosmos 1900, are called rorsats, or radar ocean reconnaissance satellites. Since they are used to track American naval fleets, the Defense Department sees them as a major argument for developing an American antisatellite weapon system, something that Brown and other Congressional opponents have managed to block so far. But Brown fears the untested U.S. antisatellite program could come back to life at any time, and eliminating rorsats would make that all the more difficult.

Unfortunately, eliminating rorsats will not be easy. Moscow would be unlikely to give them up unless the United States made a similar concession. And the only comparable item Washington has to offer is S.D.I. The Reagan Administration has sold the Star Wars plan as one having no nuclear weapons. But it has glossed over the fact that orbiting nuclear reactors are very much part of the package. The S.D.I. Office, NASA and the Department of Energy have already commissioned General Electric to build a \$700 million nuclear reactor, called SP-100, to be test-orbited sometime in the mid-1990s. It will be a prototype for future reactors, reactors that could be used to power anything from the space station to weapons in space.

There could be some agreement on nuclear reactors in space during the next Administration—no matter who wins. George Bush says he backs S.D.I., but it is clear his support is less passionate than Reagan's. Michael Dukakis is no great fan of either S.D.I. or nuclear power, and although the Massachusetts Governor has not yet taken a public stand on the reactor issue, his staff readily predicts he would back the proposed ban and take steps to implement it if elected.

Should such a ban go into effect, it would be none too soon. Johnson estimates that there are more than forty-eight radioactive satellites—some of them no more than exposed reactor cores—in relatively low orbits. Each is a potential space mine. The probability of collisions, and therefore of radiation raining down on our heads, is high. Too high.

JOSEPH TREEN

Joseph Treen, formerly a writer for Newsweek, is working on a novel about satellites.

MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

Dr. Samuel Johnson, that gruesome old Tory, never said "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." At least not in the sense attributed to him. Johnson was staunch for Church and King and wrote a stupid and sulfurous defense of Royal policy in the thirteen colonies (adding for good measure that the colonists should be "grateful for everything we give them short of hanging"). The opponents of Good King George, the Hanoverian tyrant, mustered under the banner of "John Wilkes and Liberty" and called themselves Patriots. Johnson refused to dine where any member of the Patriotic faction might be found, and had to be tricked into a social meeting with Wilkes by James Boswell. Hence the birth of the famous observation, one of the few that is known to almost all editorial writers and, inevitably, misconstrued by them.

Apart from its having been said by Johnson, and thus hallowed by a sort of tradition, the remark owes its survival and resonance to the fact that it elicits a genuine emotional recognition. There is something scoundrelly about the chauvinist and the jingoist. As a general rule, besides trying to evoke base and tribal feelings, the flag waver is also trying to change the subject. Look at the false and shifty features of G. Bush as, almost vomiting with insincerity, he reaches for the flag and for the uninspiring jingle that goes with it. That he is trying to touch the nerve of atavism is sure. But what subject is he trying to change?

I think that if I were G. Bush, I, too, would weave myself a flag and try to vanish within its folds. In the latest phase of his career he has been the chief patron, financial and political, of the infiltration of foreign dictators into the American political process. While Marcos still flourished, Bush was the Philippine candidate. He was and is the Panamanian candidate. He is the candidate of the Sultan of Brunei. He was, while the murdering, torturing junta still thrived and lent a hand in the training of the *contras*, the Argentine candidate. He is the South African candidate. Through his backdoor lobbying for an Awacs-brokered hike in the oil price, he became the Saudi Arabian candidate. For eight years he has been the vacuously grinning doormat across which despots of every stripe have been ushered into those rooms in Washington from which the trusting electorate are excluded. So of course he goes to the trusting electorate with hand on heart and pledge on lips. Wouldn't you?

If the trusting electorate ever suspected that George Bush became the candidate of all those other dictators by being the Iranian candidate, it might take more than a swiftly woven Old Glory to save the Bush tush. So far, the national media have resolutely refused to ask Bush a single question about the 1980 "October surprise" hypothesis: the argument that the Reagan-Bush campaign made a backstairs deal with Khomeini, promising Iran arms in return for the continued humiliation of Carter on the hostage issue.

Talking of the humiliation of Carter, do you remember that he once said he lusted after other women in his heart? If you do, it is because the entirety of the media leapt upon

an interview that he incautiously gave to *Playboy*. But pick up the current edition of *Playboy* and you will find a far more revealing piece of journalism. "An Election Held Hostage," by Abbie Hoffman and Jonathan Silvers, is the longest summary of the prima facie case for the "October surprise" hypothesis that has yet appeared in print.

There is some especially intriguing material about Bush's role in the murky operations directed by Meese and Casey during the 1980 campaign. As the House committee investigating the matter concluded, back in the days when all we knew was that Carter's briefing book for a presidential debate had been stolen:

As the documents and witness statements show, Reagan-Bush campaign officials both sought and acquired non-public Government and Carter-Mondale information and materials.

Among those were "Top Secret—Eyes Only" papers from the U.S. Embassy in Teheran, found in Meese's files and passed to then-candidate Reagan, who countersigned for their receipt. Both Reagan and Meese said they had no memory of, or explanation for, these acquisitions. Ruling on this in a motion for a prosecutor in the case (a motion defeated after near-hysterical exertions on the part of Meese's Justice Department), Judge Harold Greene of the U.S. District Court sternly criticized "an information gathering apparatus employed by a Presidential campaign which uses former agents of the F.B.I. and the C.I.A."

The only thing wrong with the judge's statement was the word "former." Active-duty C.I.A. men also participated in what campaign manager William Casey called "an intelligence operation." But among the former ones was ex-C.I.A. director of security Robert Gambino, a Bush colleague who gave Casey a helping hand. Prescott Bush, George's brother, was also found using his informal contacts to pass confidential government information on the hostages to the Reagan-Bush campaign.

We know that the Republicans sought to undermine Carter by denying him a hostage release. We know they put together a plan, using unauthorized men and means, to try to achieve this. We know that they met with Iranian envoys in October 1980. And we know that from then on both the Reaganites and the Khomeini forces behaved more like allies than they let on. Doesn't this warrant a few questions, as soon as we can get this pledge business settled?

No doubt it will be said that Abbie Hoffman is not mainstream enough to be "noticed." But Carter's interviewer on the last issue was the admirable Robert Scheer. And Scheer (whose fine collection of pieces, *Thinking Tuna Fish, Talking Death*, is imminent) used to be editor of *Ramparts*. Come to that, we wouldn't know about the Iranian connection at all if it wasn't for "that rag in Beirut." If the Iranian candidate gets to November without being asked about his most breathtaking coup, then the fabled American press will have allowed him the real last refuge of the scoundrel, which is silence.

ARTICLES.

■ BETTER CHILD CARE

A New Politics
Of Entitlement

NANCY FOLBRE AND HEIDI HARTMANN

A bill called A.B.C., Act for Better Child Care Services (S1885), is about to leave committee and hit the Congressional floor. The Alliance for Better Child Care, a coalition of 130 organizations (including thirty-eight state alliances), wields the endorsements of a wide cross-section of feminist, labor and welfare advocacy groups. Nearly two hundred Congressional co-sponsors stand behind the bill. Recent public opinion polls register a crescendo of public support: Seventy-three percent of all voters are in favor of Federal government support for child care.

The most entertaining indicator of the bill's strength is the overwhelming response from conservatives, who have jumped on the child care bandwagon hoping to steer it in a different direction. Suddenly, money is no object; the price tag on Vice President George Bush's latest child care proposal reads \$2.2 billion per year, almost as high as A.B.C.'s \$2.5 billion.

The emerging conservative strategy seems designed to fracture support for the A.B.C. bill along class lines. After years of implementing policies that have decreased benefits and increased taxes on low-income families, the Republican Party's presidential candidate now suggests that only low-income families need help with child care.

Some liberals may fall for the new Republican rhetoric, which combines traditional male confidence in motherhood and markets with a hypocritical concern for the poor. Liberals who remain ignorant of the issues underlying the A.B.C. debate may well underestimate its importance. For that reason, the political history, specific provisions and most common criticisms of A.B.C. all merit close consideration.

After decades of empty rhetoric about family values, Congress this fall will almost certainly pass some kind of legislation to ease the burdens of working parents. Guaranteed family leave from work is also on the legislative agenda. Why now? The most obvious explanation is economic pressure. Over the past eight years, family income has grown only slightly despite large increases in women's participation in the labor force. Income inequality has increased. Most families have worked harder and harder simply to maintain

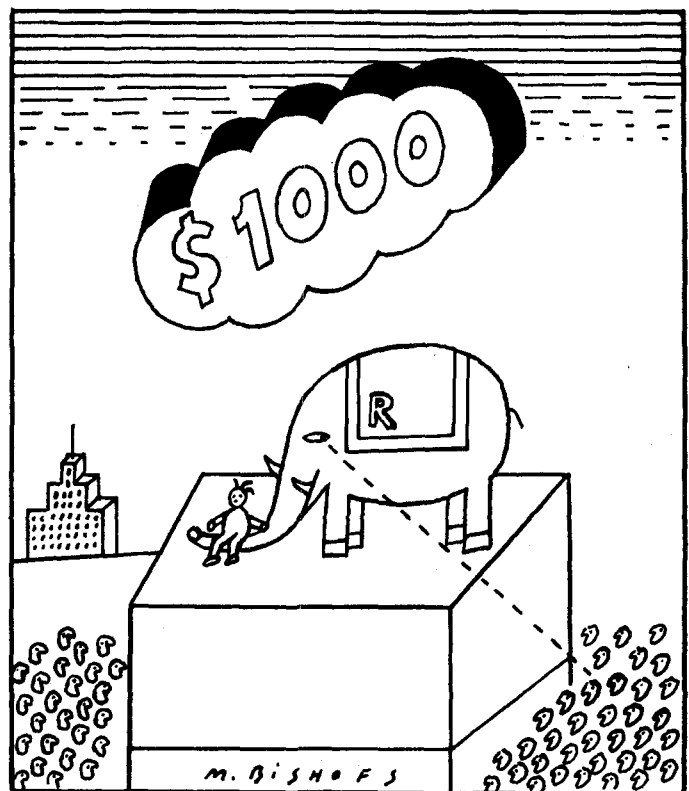
their standard of living. Many have been seriously constrained by the persistent shortage of affordable, quality child care.

But economic factors alone don't explain the momentum behind A.B.C. Much of the credit goes to activists who kept groups like the Children's Defense Fund and the Child Care Action Coalition going in a period when their concerns were labeled politically unrealistic. No less important has been the education that feminists, trade unionists and welfare advocates received from the Reaganomics school of hard knocks.

The feminist movement, weakened by the defeat of the equal rights amendment and persistent threats to abortion rights, has developed a new appreciation of class, race and ethnic differences among women. Affirmative action, a feminist plank of the 1970s, rewarded women who could take advantage of opportunities to enter male-dominated occupations but offered little to women stuck in "pink collar" jobs as secretaries, receptionists and child care workers. Recognizing this failing, many feminist organizations began to support union organizing efforts and pay-equity campaigns.

Women of color insisted that white feminists come to grips with their own ethnocentrism, pushing feminist politics past the rhetoric of individual rights and toward a language of social responsibility. Finally, many feminists began to recognize that they had over-idealized the world of careers. In this context, a family-policy initiative offered strategic as well as substantive benefits.

The trade union movement has evolved in similar ways. Faced with declining membership and declining power, it has begun to overcome its legacy of sexism and sign up



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women. Union organizers have learned that women care deeply about the relationship between paid work and family work. To give just one recent example: Child care issues played a crucial role in the recent successful organizing drive among clerical workers at Harvard University.

Advocates for the poor, who bore the brunt of Federal and state budget cuts, learned that entitlement programs with a broad range of beneficiaries withstood attack. They realized that rather than splitting the poor off from everyone else, it is far better to combine redistributive policies with a new politics of fair entitlement.

The A.B.C. bill reflects all these lessons and all these constituencies. Among feminists, Representative Pat Schroeder of Colorado took the lead, organizing a Great American Family Tour in January and February to promote child care, family and medical leave, pay equity and better housing and health care. Schroeder garnered some media attention as well as an enthusiastic public response, which has helped the A.B.C. bill along. Meanwhile, the Coalition of Labor Union Women prodded the trade union movement, initiating an American Family Celebration in Washington on May 14 that rallied major unions behind an ambitious progressive family-policy agenda.

In there all along was one of the few political organizations that has consistently spoken out for poor people over the past decade: the Children's Defense Fund. Add in the day-to-day experience and concerns of nonprofit child care providers and you have the most important elements of the A.B.C. coalition.

Apart from some small subsidy programs such as Head Start, current Federal child care assistance is limited to an income tax credit for child care expenditures that has disproportionately benefited high-income families. The Act for Better Child Care Services would establish a Federal structure to coordinate, regulate and subsidize a decentralized child care system. It would not put Uncle Sam directly in charge of child care, as would more ambitious proposals to incorporate new programs into the public school system. But A.B.C. would depart substantially from current policy by increasing the funds available to child care providers.

Total Federal expenditures would amount to \$2.5 billion a year for 1989 and the following four years. Participating state governments would match 20 percent of the total over the same period. States would set aside 15 percent of their allotment for improvements in the child care infrastructure—including improved referral systems, development and training programs for providers and increased salaries for child care workers. A maximum of 10 percent could be spent on administrative costs.

Under A.B.C., all families would be eligible for assistance on a sliding scale based on income. States would reserve 75 percent of their allotment to help subsidize families earning up to 115 percent of the state's median income (approximately the bottom 57 percent of the income distribution). In order to be eligible for subsidy, parents must hold paying jobs.

A.B.C. supporters argue that the qualitative dimensions of the bill are more important than the numbers. It would set national standards for quality child care in five areas: child-staff ratios, group size, parental involvement, parental

access, and health and safety. (In many states, child care is largely unregulated.) Only licensed providers at centers and home-based facilities meeting both these standards and worker training requirements would be eligible for assistance. However, many unlicensed providers would have, for the first time, a substantial incentive to apply for licenses.

The bill is far from perfect. Three concerns are particularly evident: the eligibility of some middle-income families; the bill's restriction to families in which parents hold paying jobs; and its bureaucratic component. None of these concerns are imaginary. But the bill's problems have been grossly exaggerated by conservatives who completely ignore the pathology of "market-based" alternatives. Douglas Besharov of the American Enterprise Institute suggests that A.B.C. is a plan for middle-class self-enrichment, and Phyllis Schlafly indignantly points out that the two-earner families eligible for A.B.C. assistance have significantly higher incomes than traditional single-breadwinner families. Surprise! Two people generally earn more than one. But A.B.C. would utilize both a quota and sliding fee scale to help low- and middle-income families. It would not subsidize the affluent.

What about A.B.C.'s lack of assistance for families in which mothers don't have paying jobs? Conservatives fault the bill for encouraging mothers to work for pay. Both Schlafly and *Newsweek* economics columnist Robert Samuelson rhetorically question whether child care is superior to mother's care (father's care apparently isn't relevant). Neither expressed these fears when legislation to make paid work mandatory for many mothers receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children was proposed.

Ideally, all parents should receive some remuneration for the socially necessary work of rearing children. But current tax policy discriminates particularly fiercely against families where women do double duty as care-givers and income-earners. Married homemakers, who pay neither individual income nor Social Security taxes, receive about the same social and retirement benefits as their wage-earning, tax-paying counterparts who also raise children. A.B.C. would help redress this imbalance.

What about its "bureaucratic impact"? *New York Times* columnist William Safire has warned that the A.B.C. bill would entangle child care in the tentacles of the Federal bureaucracy. Indeed, some child care providers would face higher costs to meet regulatory standards, such as minimum child-staff ratios. (Not surprisingly, much of the proprietary child care industry, including profitable firms such as Kinder-Care, is opposed to A.B.C.) But most nonprofit centers welcome some regulation as a means of enforcing high quality standards.

The market-based alternative to A.B.C., as proposed by George Bush, addresses these concerns. A tax credit of up to \$1,000 per child under age 4 would be provided for families earning less than \$11,000 a year (with eligibility to be raised gradually to \$20,000 a year over four years). At least one family member must be employed—a nifty touch that rewards married mothers who don't work for pay but disqualifies unmarried women with children who stay home with their kids. Families could file for this tax credit whether or

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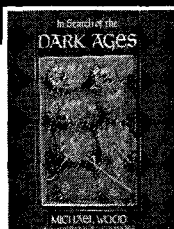
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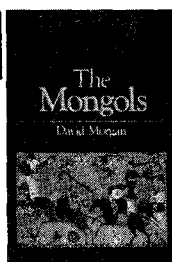
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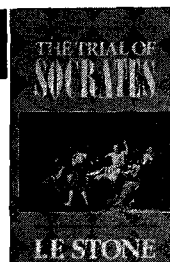
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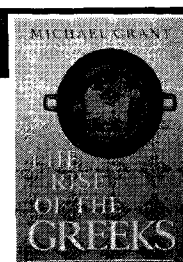
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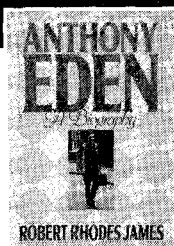
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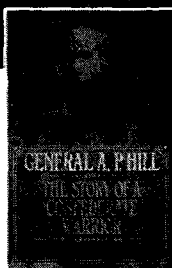
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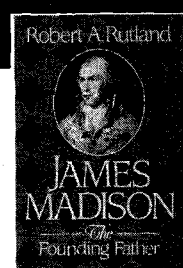
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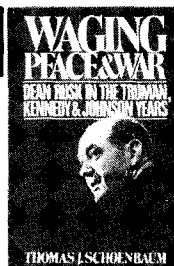
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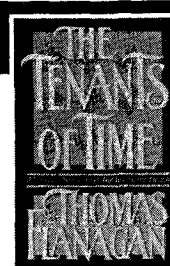
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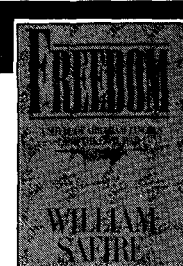
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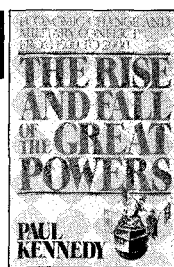
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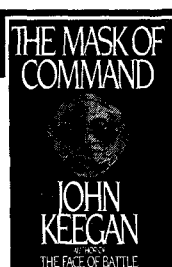
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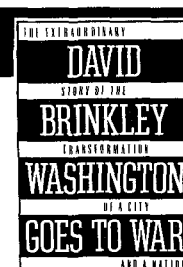
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not they paid income taxes, and they could spend it wherever and however they wanted.

But this alternative suffers from some serious problems, as detailed in a recent report from Citizens for Tax Justice. Many poor families don't file income-tax returns. If they do file, they will receive a lump sum payment that amounts to only about a third of the average annual cost of child care. A family earning \$10,000 in a relatively poor state, such as Maine, would fare much better under A.B.C.

More important, the child care tax credit would do little to increase the supply of child care or to improve its quality. However liberal its rhetoric, the Bush proposal simply reiterates Reaganomic faith in the capitalist marketplace. Its basic presupposition is that the child care market works just fine—low-income parents just need a little more money to spend in it. But as most working parents will tell you, they need not only money but also information, high quality standards and a structure that enables them to shape the child care program in their communities. These needs could be addressed, if not completely satisfied, by something as simple as A.B.C. □

■ BEHIND JAPAN'S 'MIRACLE'

Playing the Zaitoku Game

DOUG HENWOOD

There's something about Japan that makes Americans lose their critical faculties, provoking extremes of hatred or admiration. Among the bashers, the language can get very ugly. For example, these words come from Texas Congressman Jack Brooks: "God bless Harry Truman. He dropped two of them. He should have dropped four." Or Senator John Danforth of Missouri, heir to the Purina Critter Chow fortune, who says the Japanese are "leeches." Howard Baker, Theodore White and Jack Anderson all say the Japanese are pursuing their dream of empire-building by peaceful means, having failed at military conquest. Anderson says he has access to secret information proving Japan's trade surplus is all part of a hundred-year plan to drive the white barbarians out—though it's hard to imagine who will buy all those Hondas and Sonys once the Japanese have crushed the White Peril.

This nonsense, though dangerous, is largely beneath serious comment. Of more subtle danger is the neoliberal prescription that we should emulate Japan, a line of thinking that has caught the attention of Michael Dukakis and other Democratic pragmatists as well as some of the more enlightened business intellectuals, from Felix Rohatyn to Robert Reich. In this technocratic view, Japan represents capitalism with a human face, where efficiency and equity

travel hand in hand. Sounding not unlike a contemporary Calvin ("the business of America is business") Coolidge, Reich admires the way the Japanese "draw no sharp distinction between their business and civic cultures." Management, government and labor all cooperate to promote growth, since economic growth is acknowledged as the supreme good. Unemployment is virtually nonexistent, and workers, guaranteed a job for life, cheerfully cooperate with management. Thus equity promotes productivity. Unlike the United States, the productive economy is nurtured, and speculation—what Reich calls "paper entrepreneurialism"—is avoided.

Much of this image is a myth and, like all myths, "deals in false universals, to dull the pain of particular circumstances," in Angela Carter's phrase. In this case, corporatist neoliberals are dulling particular circumstances in order to promote docility and a spirit of self-sacrifice among U.S. workers. Whether they know better or not is a matter for their own consciences. But a closer look at the reality hidden behind the shiny images of the Japanese "miracle" would be the best way to evaluate their prescriptions. Such a look reveals the following:

§ Lifetime employment applies to only a shrinking minority of workers—and it's a luxury subsidized by a reserve army of the "dependently" employed.

§ Even lifetime employees are forced into early retirement.

§ If hidden unemployment is included, Japanese joblessness rates are not all that different from those of the United States.

§ The welfare system is the chintziest of the big five economies—that is, behind West Germany, France, Britain and the United States.

§ Japanese firms are moving production abroad at a rapid pace, on the model of U.S. multinationals.

§ Financial and real estate speculation is the most intense anywhere in the developed world.

In other words, capitalism with a human face is suffering from ailments quite similar to those plaguing capitalism of a less benign countenance.

"Lifetime employment" is the myth most in need of demystification. The Japanese were pioneers of a strategy now gaining wide appeal in the United States and Europe—dividing the work force into a minority of core workers supplemented by a majority of contingent or "dependent" workers, the term used by the Japanese Ministry of Labor. Core workers have the plum jobs. They are highly skilled, well paid, often company-housed (in a country where housing is very expensive) and guaranteed a job for most of their lives. When business changes, they are retrained or redeployed. But they account for only about a third of the work force, and that proportion is shrinking with every passing day, because new employees are far less likely to be offered lifetime security.

Unskilled, dull, seasonal or unpleasant labor is reserved for contingent workers, who can be part-time or temporary employees of big firms, or employees of the innumerable subcontractors supplying parts and services to big firms. (Part-timers are characterized more by the tenuousness of their employment and the absence of fringe benefits than the length of their week, which can be as long as forty-eight

hours.) The subcontractors range from medium-sized, relatively sophisticated firms to tiny family enterprises operating in garages and basements. Contingent workers, in-house or out, are expected to bear the brunt of the business cycle: When business is slow, big firms reduce their supply of temporary workers and cut back on orders and payments to subcontractors. This forces the subcontractors to cut costs at their operations, already none too plush, by laying off workers or cutting their pay.

Redundant workers often just drop out of the labor force by going home to the family. Consequently, their plight doesn't show up in the unemployment statistics. As in the United States, Japanese workers are not considered unemployed if they have given up the job search or if they are working part time despite wanting a full-time job. Were such people counted as jobless, the U.S. unemployment rate would be sharply higher—about 8.3 percent rather than the official 5.6 percent. According to U.S. Labor Department estimates, counting hidden joblessness would raise the Japanese unemployment rate from the 2.5 to 3 percent that has prevailed in recent years to more than 8 percent.

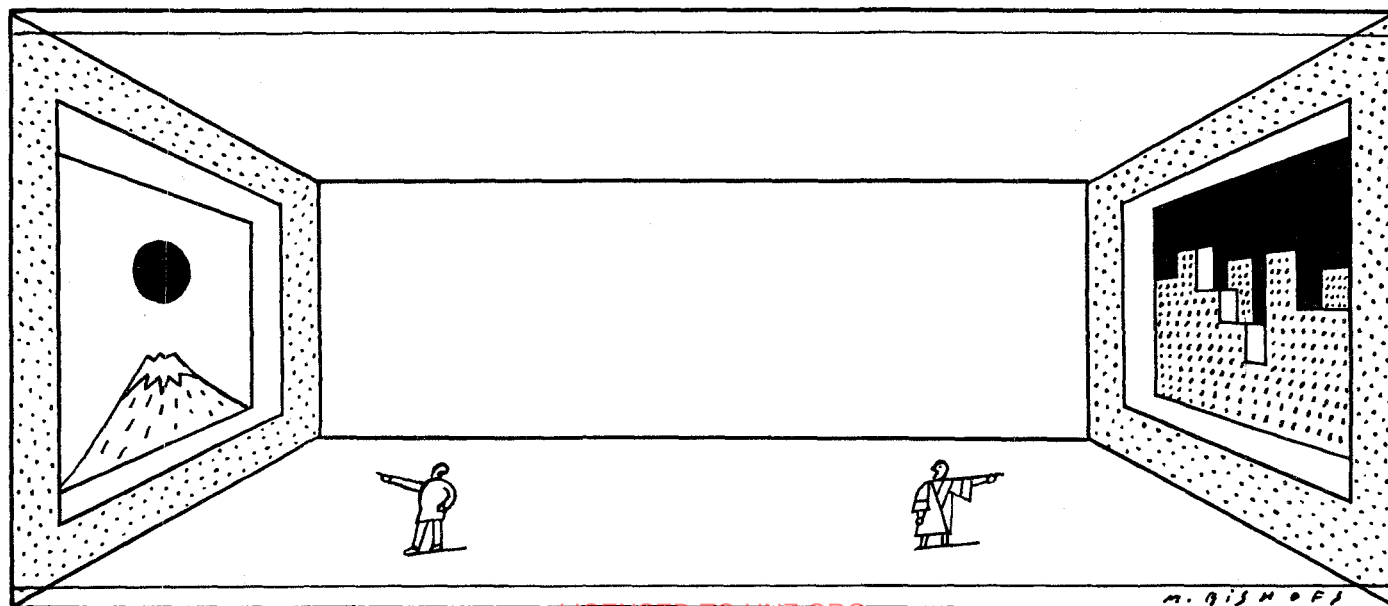
As might be expected, Japanese women are especially "contingent." Their pay is about 53 percent of men's, as compared with 64 percent in the United States. They are found disproportionately in part-time and temporary work and in family businesses. Higher education for women is relatively rare, and careers are rarer still; a 1985 survey of Japan's bigger firms found that 80 percent planned to interview no women university graduates that year. "Instead," noted the March 4, 1985, *Business Week*, "they will look for high school and junior college graduates who . . . must be younger than 24, cute, well-mannered, and unambitious," whose "main function is to support and motivate male workers" for a few years before snagging a man. Women not young or cute enough to become "office flowers" work menial jobs at low pay with little chance of promotion.

Not that the life of core employees, white- and blue-collar, is anxiety free. Though layoffs of core workers are rare, they do happen. And short of a layoff, core workers live in fear of a humiliating transfer to an obscure or distant

subsidiary as punishment for failure. All are forced to retire from the core at 55 to take a lower-paying contingent job. As *Inc.* magazine, which celebrates the entrepreneurial culture, put it in its April 1986 issue, "All those studies on Japanese management overlook the one ingredient that makes it all work: fear."

To fans of the Japanese labor market, this fear is a wondrous thing. In an article celebrating the entrepreneurial virtues of small-scale family enterprises and self-employment, Hugh T. Patrick and Thomas P. Rohlen note the following less-than-humane stimuli: "Welfare and employment policies that increase insecurity about old age also play a role by (1) encouraging self-help, (2) inducing workers to work even for low wages, and (3) causing people to view entrepreneurship as a means to greater security in retirement. Big businesses do not hire mid-career job changers, and their early retirement programs throw out many people who wish to continue to work. The still limited level of government as well as private retirement benefits have, thus far at least, offered relatively little income security even for the retired employees of large firms." Consequently, many Japanese must continue working into their 70s.

Management by fear couldn't work if the social welfare system weren't so tightfisted. Although it pays out enough to keep the poor, handicapped and unemployed from starving, Japan spends the smallest portion of G.N.P. on social welfare programs of the big five economies, and the country lacks a system comparable to the United States' Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Though unemployment benefits are payable for 300 days to those over 55, job-losers under 30 get only ninety days' benefits; after that, they're at the mercy of an intrusive and skeptical welfare system. (Only 1.2 percent of the population gets benefits from the Ministry of Welfare, compared with about 4.6 percent on A.F.D.C. in the United States. Public hospitals are overcrowded, private facilities are beyond the reach of the poor, and the handicapped constitute a "semi-underclass," in the words of economists Martin Bronfenbrenner and Yasukichi Yasuba. Japanese cities have their roving homeless (*furōsha*), just like ours; in Tokyo, patrols urge merchants not to feed the



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furōsha and spread water or wet sawdust on the ground where the homeless might sleep or sit.

Fans of the Japanese labor market also admire the weakness of Japanese unions. This weakness can be traced to a number of causes: later industrialization than the United States and Europe; the Fascist government of the 1930s and 1940s; a Red purge after the war, strongly backed by the U.S. occupation forces; and an employer offensive in the mid-1950s and early 1960s. Unions are organized by company rather than industry or craft, which makes it far easier to persuade workers to identify with the firm rather than with their colleagues and class. But it was only after management's victory that business discovered the virtues of cooperation. Of course, there is no need to cooperate with contingent workers; they can be discarded when they have outlived their usefulness. All of which makes for efficiency. But so did the labor markets of Victorian England.

The top priority of Japanese planners since World War II has been rapid economic growth. They have undeniably succeeded. Per capita real G.N.P. grew by an average of 4.3 percent a year 1965-86, almost triple the U.S. rate, with low inflation and very high rates of savings and investment. Conversely, private consumption remains a smaller share of G.N.P. than in most other rich industrial countries. Japanese firms have continued to invest in the newest plant and equipment through two oil crises, recession and the recent high yen crisis, in the endless pursuit of growth.

To what end? Many middle-class Japanese consume at near-poverty levels because of the high costs of housing and education. (Although primary school is free, public high schools charge tuition. The pressures of "examination hell" and university entrance need no recounting here.) Japanese work the longest week in the industrial world. While Japan has enjoyed one of the most extended periods of strong economic growth of any country in history, an annual government poll shows virtually no change in the number of people reporting themselves satisfied with their lives over the past thirty years. Growth may please statisticians and excite the envy of foreign elites, but there's no evidence it makes people happy.

Growth exacts its price as well: declining profitability. If you already have 100 modern auto plants, number 101 can never be as profitable as number 100, much less number 10. Although the rate of profit has declined worldwide, according to economist Anwar Shaikh, the fall has been particularly sharp in Japan. In recent years, according to economist Kazuo Sato, Japanese rates of return on invested capital may even have been negative. What's a capitalist to do in such a case? Speculate.

The Japanese stock market is now the world's largest, having surpassed the United States in mid-1987, despite Japan's smaller economy. The value of all the shares of Nippon Telephone and Telegraph is greater than the value of all the stocks listed on the West German market, even though the Japanese government has privatized only a small share of this slow-growing company. Dividend yields are only about 0.5 percent, compared with 3 to 4 percent in the

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United States currently, which is fairly low by U.S. historical standards. Ratios of stock prices to underlying corporate profits, or price-earnings ratios—a classic technique for judging the rationality of stock prices—are loony by world standards. In the United States, a price-earnings ratio of 6 is considered cheap; 12, normal; 18, a little racy. In Japan, the average stock sells for more than 60 times earnings, five times current U.S. levels, and N.T.T. has an incredible 150 price-earnings ratio. Blue-chip firms like Sony and Toyota have become major adepts in the art of *zaiteku*—a pun on high-tech that literally means “economic tech.” Under this Japanese variant of postmodern financial alchemy, firms have been playing the stock market with corporate funds, often using their blue-chip names to borrow cheaply in the Euromarkets to fund speculation in Tokyo. The October stock crash affected Japan the least of any major market, as the government and the major financial institutions conspired to prop up the market. Prices are now above their precrash high, a claim no other stock market can make. As they say on Wall Street, the stock market isn’t just discounting the future, it’s discounting the hereafter.

Speculators exercise themselves elsewhere, too, notably in real estate, which makes the stock market look almost reasonable. Of course, it seems natural that land should be expensive in a small, crowded country. Japan is roughly the size of California, but only about a quarter to a third of the country is habitable—meaning that a population of 121.5 million, about half that of the United States, is squeezed into an area the size of Ohio. Even so, the real estate bubble has left rationality far behind. A two-bedroom apartment ninety minutes out of Tokyo cost an average of \$570,000 late last year. (Not that these accommodations are luxuriously appointed: 36 percent of the houses in big cities, and 46 percent of the houses nationwide, lack indoor flush toilets.) The market has cooled since then, but not to the point of reason. Land and construction in Tokyo are so expensive that it takes up to a hundred years to recoup the costs of developing a new office building. Last year, the value of Japanese land increased by 400 trillion to 500 trillion yen, or \$3 trillion to \$4 trillion—more than Japan’s G.N.P. and roughly equal to the total value of land in the United States. No wonder Japanese firms are buying up U.S. real estate; they’ve been priced out of their home market.

Real estate prices have reached the point where they threaten the real economy: It simply costs too much to set up shop in Tokyo. The government is trying to encourage decentralization, though there aren’t many takers, and is even talking of moving the capital to the provinces. Deflating the real estate bubble could have horrible consequences. According to Sato, the inflation in financial and real estate assets has saved Japanese capital from facing the consequences of low profitability: Capital gains from land appreciation have kept Japanese balance sheets in the black, enabling firms to keep investing through thick and thin. In addition, Japanese banks are very thinly capitalized by world standards; they rely on “hidden”—some would say fictitious—assets to support their massive loan portfolios.

Should this game end, things could get very dramatic.

Japan, like all speculators, is leveraged up to its ears; and, like all speculators, it loves to borrow against inflated assets to finance further speculation. Total credit to the private sector is 178 percent of G.N.P. in Japan, versus 92 percent in the United States. Many companies have borrowed heavily to play the *zaiteku* game. (The government isn’t debt-shy, either: Japan’s government debt is 57 percent of G.N.P., compared with 55 percent in the United States.) A decline in land and stock prices would threaten a wave of defaults and an end of credit to the United States, the worldwide consequences of which are unpleasant to imagine. As it has many times in the past, Japan Inc. managed to patch last October’s near-puncture of the bubble. It’s a maneuver it will be called upon to repeat.

So the stock market chugs merrily on, but the real estate market is getting a little bumpy. Commercial real estate values in Tokyo have fallen as much as 50 percent from the summer 1987 peaks. Akio Mikuni of the Mikuni Jimusho credit rating agency told *Euromoney* that it would take a 70 to 90 percent fall in the real estate market to “bring housing prices into line with what people could actually afford. It would bring debt service costs on property investments down to a level where they would be covered by rental income.” The only problem is that a fall of that magnitude could bring down the Japanese banking system and, with it, the rest of the world’s. With most foreigners expecting the Japanese stock market to crack even as it inches higher, the possibility of a crash in real estate bears watching.

Japan could face some rough spots over the next few years. The export-led, high-growth era is over. It’s not clear whether the domestic economy can avoid slipping into Western-style stagnation without the export stimulus. Japanese companies are becoming more like Western multinationals, relying on overseas suppliers and plants. High-wage industrial jobs are disappearing to automation and to new factories in Taiwan, South Korea and Thailand. This “hollowing out” of the economy promises that more core workers will be cast into the lake of contingency, driving the unemployment rate—visible and invisible—upward. Young workers are more likely to find contingent jobs at cafés and oxygen bars than core jobs at Toyota or Nippon Steel. Regional income disparities are widening, as finance-led Tokyo throbs and steel towns sag. Japanese income distribution is now one of the most even in the world—though the distribution of wealth and power is another matter. But this is bound to change as the middle class is fragmented by the emergence of a free-spending upper class. Until recently, Japan’s rich were quite inconspicuous consumers, and class distinctions were less visibly dramatic than in the United States. All these developments threaten to undermine Japanese social harmony.

This look at the reality of the Japanese political economy is not intended as another round in the popular sport of Japan-bashing. Americans were spoiled for years by the absence of serious competition; now, the Japanese have beaten us at our own game. But given the harshness of Japanese labor markets, the sacrifice of comfort and security to the totem of growth, and the wildness of speculation

in stocks and real estate, should we really emulate the Japanese—even if that were possible? □

■ BIOLOGICAL WARFARE

Lethal Lies About Fatal Diseases

CHARLES PILLER

In 1977 the U.S. Army presented a lengthy, supposedly comprehensive report on its biological warfare (BW) testing program of the 1950s and 1960s to a Senate subcommittee. Although the report did not indicate the scale or number of field tests, it did show which disease-causing organisms were used, and when they were—forty-four projects in all. The Army said elaborate safety procedures kept the BW agents within the borders of Dugway Proving Grounds, a desert test range larger than the state of Rhode Island, located near Salt Lake City. Indeed, the report concludes, “no impact on the environment was ever detected nor were any other untoward effects.” No one was harmed.

Documents I have recently obtained under the Freedom of Information Act prove that most—perhaps all—of these reassurances, and others, are lies. The documents reveal gross omissions and misrepresentations in the Army's prior descriptions of its field testing of BW agents. The Army has consistently understated the range and extent of its pre-1969 BW testing. The heavily censored reports also display a stunning disregard for public safety in tests involving massive amounts of the organisms that cause Q fever, anthrax and other lethal diseases.

These revelations cast a long shadow of doubt on the Army's claims about its current research program. Technically, this nation is out of the BW business. In 1975 the United States ratified the biological weapons convention that bans this particularly horrendous form of unconventional warfare. However, the treaty permits research for defensive purposes. And even Defense Department officials cannot define the distinction between offensive and defensive BW research. Exploiting this ambiguity, the Defense Department has embarked on a provocative program, using new genetic technologies in ways that threaten to destabilize the treaty process and stimulate a new biological arms race.

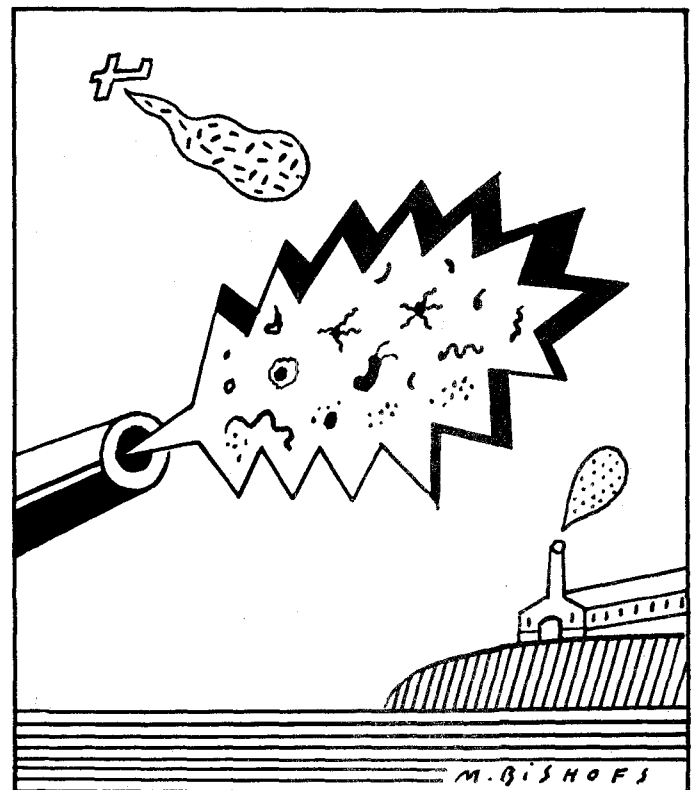
To justify this effort, a steady drum beat of U.S. allegations of BW atrocities by the Russians has been sounded. Although never substantiated by verifiable evidence, the charges have succeeded in goading Congress into approving BW budgets that have increased nearly sixfold since 1980. And those budgets reflect only a fraction of the hundreds of

millions of dollars in Defense Department biomedical research funds that may be directly applied to BW but are hidden in innocuous-sounding programs.

An Army proposal for a facility designed to test large volumes of aerosol BW agents lies at the heart of the Pentagon's research strategy. The lab would be built at Dugway, would be equipped to grow and test both naturally occurring and genetically altered organisms and is needed, the Army says, to test the efficacy of protective gear and biological-detection devices. A phalanx of scientific experts insists that for such defensive goals, the facility would be an exercise in monumental overkill. Yet no one disputes the lab's value for showing which biological agents are the strongest candidates for weaponization.

An unusually broad coalition—from genetic-engineering critic Jeremy Rifkin to Utah's conservative Senator Orrin Hatch—has so far stalled the project. Rifkin and Center for Defense Information director Gene La Rocque sued, claiming that the lab would pose the grave public health risk of accidental release of dangerous organisms. A Federal judge ordered the Defense Department to produce a detailed environmental impact statement, still not completed after more than three years' work.

For its part, the Defense Department insists that its BW program, including the aerosol lab project, is well conceived and properly defensive in nature. Moreover, the department asserts in another recent environmental impact report, elaborate regulations “assure adequate protection for the work force and virtually total protection for the external environment.” In the face of official secrecy, determining where the truth lies is largely a matter of whether one can believe the Pentagon. Does the military's BW track record substantiate its claims of high-minded concern for public



Charles Piller is the author, with Keith R. Yamamoto, of *Gene Wars: Military Control Over the New Genetic Technologies* (William Morrow).

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safety, and has the Defense Department accurately portrayed past BW tests?

The history of U.S. chemical and biological weapons experiments—characterized by routine use of unwitting human guinea pigs—is hardly reassuring. Chilling examples from the 1950s and 1960s include the Central Intelligence Agency's tests of LSD in a vain pursuit of mind-control agents and a widely reported Army nerve-gas accident in 1968, which killed 6,000 sheep near Dugway and terrorized local ranchers. The Army also conducted vast, clandestine biological tests in the 1950s in such public places as the New York City subways and the San Francisco Bay area—using supposedly benign organisms that mimic the behavior of BW agents. The Army acknowledged in 1977 that one of its widely used "simulants" can kill the ill or elderly.

Receiving far less notice were field tests during the 1950s and 1960s using "hot" agents, including the organisms that cause: anthrax (a hideously disfiguring lethal disease whose spore-forming bacteria can survive in the soil for decades); Q, undulant, rabbit and parrot fevers (diseases of livestock, rodents and birds that can cause severe flulike symptoms in humans); and valley fever (an often-fatal fungal disease). These tests were also run at Dugway.

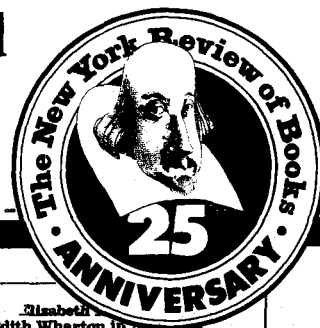
It's hardly surprising that the Army never disclosed the quantities of BW agents used in those tests. The volume was stupefying; F.O.I.A. documents I have obtained so far show that more than 450 gallons were disseminated in a biological fog, exploded from bombs or sprayed from aircraft. And this appears to cover only a quarter of the trials. For some perspective on the dangers: A single organism of the causative agent for Q fever can initiate infection, and billions of organisms may be present in a drop of Q fever slurry. In one 1958 test alone, 40 gallons of slurry were sprayed from an F-100A jet traveling at nearly the speed of sound. In other tests, more than 300 gallons of BW agents labeled only by the codes "US," "TT" and "MN" were similarly sprayed.

At least sixty-nine field tests, conducted over eighteen years, were left off the Army's official accounting to the Senate. Unfortunately, many reports that were released to me were so heavily censored that it is hard to judge the significance of these exercises. Nevertheless, the reports, which offer the first detailed description of the testing ever publicly released, reveal a wide gulf between the Army's stated safety precautions and actual practices.

In 1977 the Army assured the Senate that it had formed three blue-ribbon safety committees to establish testing guidelines. It failed to emphasize that the first committee was not convened until July 1953, after scores of tests involving about 1,000 munitions and at least ten BW agents had already been conducted. These committees absolutely ruled out the use of diseases not endemic to regional animal populations, the report to the Senate notes. As for the diseases selected, the report adds, no incidence of disease in local animals exceeding initial baseline levels was ever noticed, despite years of surveillance. This claim has been reiterated over the years by the Army, most recently in a draft of the environmental impact statement written to argue the safety of the proposed aerosol facility.

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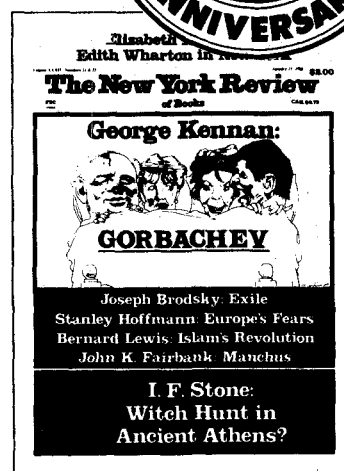
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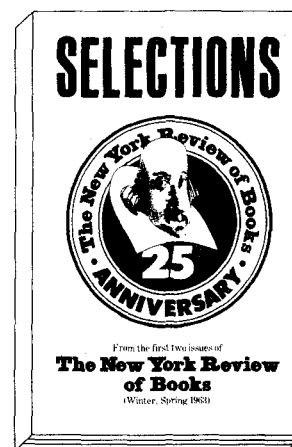
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Close examination of the 1977 report itself, as well as F.O.I.A. documents I obtained, shows that at least eight BW agents had been released, some in massive quantities, before any surveillance program was initiated, in late 1952. It therefore was impossible to know pretest disease levels. The documents also reveal that the Army believed three diseases tested—anthrax, Q fever and valley fever—were probably not endemic.

"Q fever was not detected at Dugway Proving Ground until after testing was initiated," notes a declassified 1962 report prepared by the disease-surveillance team. "The disease unquestionably reached [epidemic] proportions in the wildlife in 1959 and 1960, culminating a gradual increase since the time of first release." Because Q fever was by then well established, the report suggested, further testing would do no harm. A 1988 Army report adds that "Q fever was first isolated in the United States in the Great Salt Lake Desert [in 1959]." Another document acknowledges that a major epidemic of rabbit fever among local wildlife may have been caused by Dugway "activities."

"Meteorological conditions were an absolute control factor in whether or not a test was permitted to start or continue," the 1977 Army report also asserts. In case of high winds, for example, the experimenters apparently would cease spraying from jet aircraft to prevent a nearby hamlet from being turned into a ghost town by the deadly drift. Yet in many tests wind speed ranged from 30 miles per hour to nearly 60. One experiment involved spreading anthrax on special plots. "The agent can no longer be detected in four plots," the summary report notes. The author, a master of understatement, added: "This, perhaps, was due in part to a heavy windstorm which cut into these plots and blew away the surface soil and organisms." In a 1967 Dugway study, bombs filled with the agent that causes undulant fever and the still-secret "US" were dropped from 25,000 feet and set to detonate at 10,000 feet. So much for strict meteorological controls.

The tests were designed, the Army said in 1977, so that BW organisms could not reach U.S. Highway 40 (now Interstate 80), thirty-five miles north of the test site. The Army was particularly concerned that the highly persistent anthrax spores might infect motorists or residents of the small towns off the highway, and so conducted elaborate sampling and meteorological forecasting.

Contrary to Army statements, however, anthrax did, in fact, reach the highway. In one case, an Army summary notes, the test cloud passed over Highway 40 at an altitude of more than a mile. In another, the cloud blew over Wendover, a town on the Utah-Nevada border. A 1954 review of prior tests proposed that as long as human anthrax exposures at Highway 40 were estimated at well below ten spores, testing should continue. The same report concludes, remarkably, "No methods exist at this time to estimate reliably the concentrations of anthrax spores reaching US Highway 40. . . . Use of this [method for estimating anthrax concentration] may lead to very erroneous results, but, at this time, it represents the 'best guess', and, for that reason, the assumption is made." Instead of stopping the tests, the

Army enlisted the county sheriff to cruise the highway, recording the names of people in stalled cars.

Sampling the environment for the presence of BW agents used in these tests was done not for safety reasons, usually, but to determine if militarily effective concentrations of the organisms could be delivered to targets. The Army was unsure, for example, whether a lethal dose of the germs could survive the explosive force of munitions. And in any case, mechanical problems frequently disabled sampling stations, or experimenters couldn't determine whether the BW-agent cloud had even passed over the sampling grid. Similarly slipshod procedures at Dugway in 1951 caused the loss of eight undulant fever and "US" bombs dropped from a jet. In a 1967 case, a plane's dissemination valve failed. "Over 3 liters of agent MN leaked onto the airfield runway alone," a report states, adding that total leakage "may have been considerable" and was impossible to estimate. The concern was raised not because of the phenomenal safety hazard but because that glitch wrecked the test data.

It is impossible to verify assertions that no humans were harmed. "The problem with all state epidemiological records is the quality and completeness of reporting from the community," says David Thurman, coordinator of the Epidemiological Studies Program of the Utah Department of Health. "Most cases of mild to moderately severe respiratory illness are not going to be reported. Most influenza-type diseases [such as Q, rabbit, parrot and undulant fevers] are not reported." If the prevalence of an endemic disease, such as rabbit fever, was increased in the animal population by testing, according to Thurman, "the incidence among people who have contact with the animals could certainly rise." He called anthrax testing "a grave public health mistake" under any circumstances.

There is an epilogue to this story: In July the Senate Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management, headed by liberal Democrat Carl Levin, conducted the first oversight hearing on BW research safety since the 1977 hearings at which the Army delivered its landmark report. With my assistance, the committee's staff worked for eighteen months on what was to be a stinging indictment of Defense Department safety practices. A few weeks before the hearings I had obtained the documents described above, and shortly thereafter I offered them to Levin's staff. The reports reveal for the first time that Pentagon officials had lied with impunity about their BW safety procedures at the 1977 Senate hearings. Yet, according to a committee staff member, Levin decided not to use the documents because they were too old and too remote from the focus of the hearings.

Predictably, the hearings hit the Pentagon for management gaffes, regulatory gaps and lax laboratory procedures. The Defense Department responded characteristically, stating that the program is already very safe and announcing a new effort to eradicate potential dangers. Meanwhile, a golden opportunity to question the department's overall credibility on BW slipped away. "We don't want to appear to be trying to shut down the program," Levin's staff member told me. With oversight like this, the Army should be able to enjoy a free hand in biological weapons research,

perhaps including Dugway's latest mission, for the foreseeable future. □

Chile

(Continued From Front Cover)

Santiago would be won by the opposition's "no" vote. In the provinces, where the regime counted on obtaining its victory, the opposition was also gaining ground.

This situation ran contrary to all the regime's long-term expectations. The Constitution of 1980, which mandated the plebiscite, was designed to give Pinochet legitimacy but also to guarantee him another eight years as president. He and the three other military and police chiefs would unanimously name the candidate; they could set any date they wished, before February 1989, for the vote; they were expecting a period of good economic figures and fragmented opposition.

But since 1983, after an economic crisis alienated the middle class, Chile's movement for democracy has broken out of its silence and embarked on painful, unsteady but persistent growth. It now includes elements of the traditional right as well as of the center and the Marxist left. And in the past eighteen months the opposition has coalesced around a strategy for defeating the regime at the polls.

Agreement has not been easily reached. The various components of the opposition have argued frequently and vocally—incurably, some observers feel. But as the plebiscite deadline grew nearer, the opposition closed ranks. The two longest holdouts were the Communist Party, which considers the vote a fraudulent exercise but nevertheless in June declared its intention to work for a "no" victory, and the rightist National Party, which split in late August over Pinochet's candidacy and then, through its majority faction, joined the campaign against him.

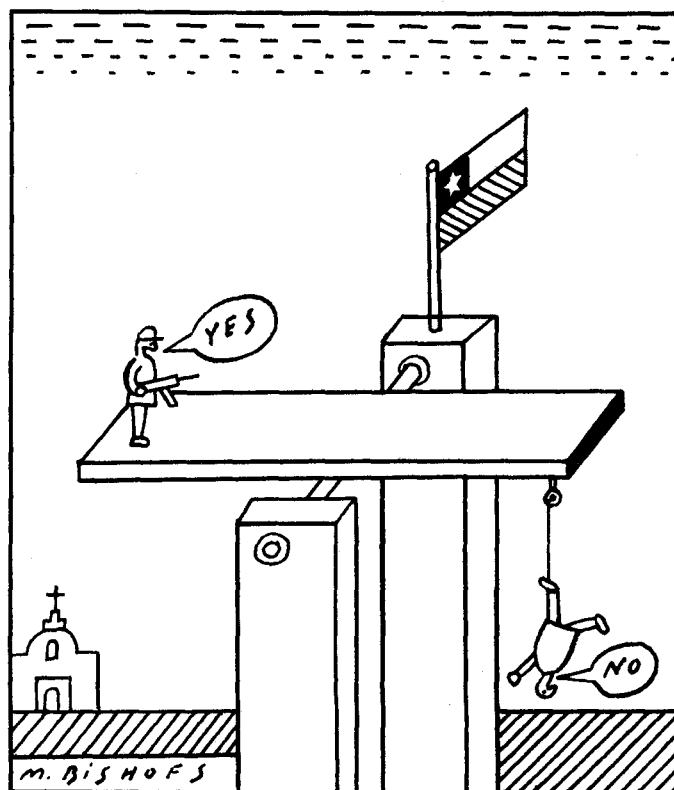
To say that the opposition is united would be to oversimplify. Ideological and personal tensions have not been forgotten. Recently those differences have been visible in the debate over whether to select a single spokesperson to represent the "no" and over how to handle the meager television time granted the opposition campaign. Such dissension would make an opposition victory messy, for there is not a consensus on how far to press demands for justice in human rights cases and for a genuine political opening.

But differences, while still troublesome, have largely been subordinated to the effort to develop a coordinated national and local campaign for the "no" vote. Ironically, the reverse has happened on the far right, where supporters of the government have entered a period of crisis, internal party elections have been bitterly contentious and enthusiasm for Pinochet is far from universal. What unites the "yes" campaign is a commitment to the economic policies of this government, combined with reliance on the military as the

guarantor of political order; but as a right-wing source told the opposition magazine *APSI* in July, "The candidate provokes zero enthusiasm" in certain circles.

The two obvious questions, on which Chileans speculate endlessly, are whether the opposition can win and whether a "no" victory would translate into any real change. The campaign has passed through several stages, always plagued by the fear that the government, as so often in the past, would stage a surprise and throw the opposition back on its own differences. Through most of 1987, opposition parties protested against the plebiscite itself: The relevant laws on voting procedures and political propaganda were not entirely enacted until recently, so the opposition had to decide on its participation in the process before it knew all the elements involved. Electoral rolls, destroyed after the coup, had to be entirely reconstituted, and the opposition did not begin working effectively on registration until late in 1987.

Early this year, however, the major centrist and non-Communist left parties joined to launch the campaign for "no," and organization began in earnest. With an electorate of slightly over 8 million, the first goal was to make sure that 6.5 million voters registered, on the theory that Pinochet could count on perhaps 2.5 million votes and that anything over 6 million would give the antigovernment forces a healthy margin. The second goal was to monitor every voting site and create a parallel computer network to tabulate the votes. Despite harassment and the costs involved in obtaining the identity papers necessary for registration, 6.5 million voters had registered by mid-July, quite an extraordinary achievement. At that point, while registration efforts continued, the focus shifted to reaching undecided voters and trying to insure that the count would be clean.



Cynthia Brown is associate director of Americas Watch, a human rights organization, and writes frequently on Chile for The Nation.

Throughout the process, the opposition has confronted widespread skepticism in its own ranks. Many potential voters have been simply afraid to participate, and with reason: Events organized to promote registration were routinely broken up by the police, and registration promoters were arrested and intimidated, although their activity was legal. Death threats against activists of all social groups doubled from 1986 to 1987. Frequent attacks on freedom of expression, in particular the arrest of journalists on military charges, have also affected the general political climate. Most recently, an opposition magazine editor was detained at his home by armed police on August 25, the same day that journalists—from many progovernment as well as opposition media—staged a one-hour work stoppage to protest the dozens of legal cases pending against the press.

Many voters have been apathetic. Still others fear that Pinochet is invincible, and that voting against him will bring terrible reprisals. Their fears too have some foundation: In smaller cities especially, the mayors (selected by Pinochet) have been given, in the words of a leaked 1986 Interior Ministry document, the “fundamental task to detect, identify, measure, and in general thoroughly know the political groups” in their communities, and have been instructed to use a system of reward and punishment according to a citizen’s political views. (“Political ‘enemies,’” the document says, should “feel the full weight of the Government.”) In close-knit communities, intimidation need not even be violent to be effective. Describing a rally in April, during one of Pinochet’s frequent campaign forays into the countryside, *The Washington Post* reported that “the people in the plaza . . . were imported . . . in more than 60 buses from other communities.” In circumstances like these, partisans of the “no” can ill afford not to board the bus, hold a banner and stand as long as necessary listening to the Pinochet speech about “progress in liberty,” traitorous civilian politicians or projected economic benefits. And they may well wonder whether their preferences will be found out on voting day.

There is another reason for skepticism, which may finally be more decisive than all the rest. The system devised for prolonging Pinochet’s rule is also the framework for continued military control, and it is ingenious. Under the 1980 Constitution, which provides for a strong president, a weak Congress and a dominant National Security Council (N.S.C.), Pinochet may, if he loses, remain president until March 1990 and army commander for as long as eight years, while becoming senator for life in 1990 when a new, partially appointed Congress is to be convened. As a lame-duck president, Pinochet would oversee the enactment of laws and regulations affecting a competitive presidential election and would influence the choice of nine other appointed senators. As army chief, Pinochet, like the other three services’ commanders, would be a member of the N.S.C.—a seven-member body in which the four military and police chiefs have a majority and through which they may intervene in civilian government. They may investigate, advise, warn and—if their warnings are not heeded—legally depose that government in the name of national security.

The Constitution also imposes numerous restrictions on constitutional reform. To diminish the powers of the N.S.C., for example, or to increase those of the Congress, is extremely complex and difficult. The presence of appointed members in the Senate (one-fourth of that body) and the huge majorities needed to pass major amendments, in not one but *two* successive Congresses, are combined with the president’s power to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, the only fully elected body. A Constitutional Tribunal that includes military officers has the power to unseat any member of Congress who proposes a bill that the tribunal (colloquially called “the new Inquisition”) considers unconstitutional. And—an essential element of this form of government, which Pinochet has called “protected democracy”—the major parties of the Marxist left, found to be “unconstitutional” in 1985, are banned for ten years from open political participation, on the basis of their ideology alone. Article 8 of the Constitution makes this ban renewable for ten-year periods. The article also applies to individuals; its first judgment against a political figure came down last year against Clodomiro Almeyda, leader of a major branch of the Socialist Party. The press can also be punished for covering the activities of “unconstitutional” persons or groups. Four opposition magazine editors felt the brunt of the regulations in June, when the government lodged charges that may carry heavy fines or lead to the suspension of publication.

Beyond the undemocratic nature of the plebiscite and the “transition” it represents, Chile’s opposition has had to cope with an almost schizophrenic mixture of signals from the regime. Just days before the official August 30 announcement of Pinochet’s nomination and the voting date, one of his closest army associates gave a speech that rivaled Pinochet at his most threatening. Gen. Santiago Sinclair, predicting that “unpatriotic” opposition leaders would take Chile to an “abyss without return,” stated that the army was “in readiness, watchful and expectant.” Pinochet’s own acceptance speech on August 30 was laced with references to a yet-to-be-contained Marxist threat. And that night, when protests broke out all over the country, three “no” supporters were killed, more than a hundred were wounded or beaten and some 800 arrested.

Just days before, the regime had lifted the state of emergency and the equally restrictive “state of danger of disturbance.” On August 31, Pinochet appeared on television for the second time in two days—this time in a suit, sporting a pearl tie-pin and calling for reason and harmony; and the next day, he announced that political exiles could return to Chile. The packaging of Pinochet as a moderate, under way for several months, now seems to be a central tactic of his campaign. Among its other features, the *carabineros* (uniformed police) are at pains to demonstrate that even a force of daily repression can have a human face. In downtown Santiago recently, the police actually *warned* one group of protesters before they turned the water cannon on them. These things are noticed. So was the fact that the massive September 4 rally for the “no” vote was allowed to proceed without harassment; the problems came

only later, when groups of demonstrators moved downtown near the presidential palace and the police stopped them with water cannons, arresting around 300.

At the same time, there is violence of another kind. While the leftist guerrilla group known as the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front, which tried to assassinate Pinochet in September 1986, has been relatively inactive for the past few months, the ultra-right has been more often in evidence. The black spider logo of Patria y Libertad ("Fatherland and Freedom"), a recently reborn paramilitary group, has been spray-painted on the walls of "no" leaders' homes and offices and carried on posters held by "yes" demonstrators; the group has also publicized its intent to form a coalition with other *grupos de choque*, or hit squads. Groups like Chilean Anticommunist Action (AChA) and the Nationalist Combat Front have been active for years, issuing threats and kidnapping dissidents, sometimes turning over their victims to the state security police, the C.N.I., for more extended torment. What is new is the ultra-right's willingness to identify itself with the regime's electoral strategy. For example, death threats have been issued by a group that signs itself as "Chileans who love our Fatherland and will vote yes."

Analysts of the voting procedures, of all political persuasions, tend to agree that systematic fraud on October 5 can be monitored and exposed relatively easily. But it is harder for the opposition to counteract the government's campaign of fear and misinformation. Opposition access to television is limited to debate programs moderated by progovernment journalists and to a daily fifteen-minute block of free time in the final month of the campaign. To make matters worse, those fifteen minutes of air time are late at night on weekdays and during the family lunch hour on weekends. Government propaganda, on the other hand, began in earnest a year ago. It appears on billboards, in the print media and throughout the day on television. Slogans like "Democracy—Yes" are the soft side of the message. Recently, however, the tone has hardened. New television spots feature a clean-cut young man drowning (voiceover: "inflation in the early 1970s") and a woman watching the food disappear from her shopping cart. The message: "You decide. We continue going forward or we return to the U.P." (Salvador Allende's Popular Unity coalition). Some skeptics believe that the end of forced exile may be intended, in part, to reinforce this message, as U.P. leaders return and visibly join the "no" campaign.

If polls can be believed, the opposition has a significant edge in Santiago. But nearly two-thirds of the voters live spread out along the Chilean spine, many in rural areas and small towns where control is tighter. Polls show that a large segment still calls itself undecided. The regime's good-cop, bad-cop campaign message has made an already tense situation more volatile and, as always, the opposition must expect surprises. Whatever happens on October 5, Pinochet plans to be president the next morning, and for at least another seventeen months. And while it is the opposition's business to be hopeful, its leaders acknowledge privately that, in any scenario, the coming year in Chile will be as difficult as this one. □

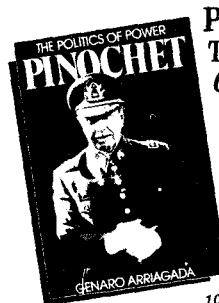
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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Opinion Mongering

BENJAMIN GINSBERG

WHAT AMERICANS REALLY THINK: And Why Our Politicians Pay No Attention. By Barry Sussman. Pantheon. 278 pp. \$18.95.

Barry Sussman, former head of the Washington Post/ABC News poll, is among America's most distinguished and able pollsters. Here he presents a fascinating and sensitive account of public opinion over the past twenty years on such central issues as race relations, abortion and nuclear power, as well as shifts in popular sentiment during the Watergate and Iran/*contra* crises. Sussman's analysis of the impact of television on popular attitudes during this period is especially perceptive.

The chief problem with Sussman's treatise arises when he moves from describing changes in the political views of Americans to his evaluation of the political significance of these views. Like many other pollsters, Sussman believes that public opinion plays a central role in politics. He suggests, for example, that public opinion compelled the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, shaped the results of the Watergate and Iran/*contra* affairs and helped to determine the outcome of a number of the other major political disputes of the past several decades. In one sense he is obviously correct. Public opinion did play a role in all these events. The fact that the public turned against the Vietnam War was one antecedent of America's withdrawal. The erosion of popular support did help to undermine Presidents Nixon and Reagan in the Watergate and Iran/*contra* conflicts.

But while popular attitudes are certainly not irrelevant, it can be misleading to ascribe to them a causal role in the political process. Opinion is not like the weather on election day—an exogenous force that affects politics but is not affected by it. Instead, public opinion itself is a result of political struggles and conflicts. To assert that a particular decision or policy was caused by public

opinion is often misleading because it ignores the underlying reality of groups, forces and interests that struggle to influence both opinions and policies. Again, unlike the weather, public opinion generally does not develop or change spontaneously. The popular attitudes that Sussman and other pollsters presume to be the determinants of political outcomes and policies are often in fact the results of efforts by competing political forces to shape opinion precisely in order to enhance their ability to influence policy. In such cases, however close the fit between the public's views and political outcomes, it would not be very meaningful to assert that opinion "caused" the outcomes. Americans, of course, like to believe that their views and wishes are the most important factors in politics. We would do well, however, to recall the words of the famous Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter, who wrote that public opinion had to be understood as the "product" rather than the "motive power" of the political process.

That public opinion is more a result of political struggles than the decisive factor in their resolution can be seen by examining two of the cases with which Sussman is concerned—the Watergate and Iran/*contra* affairs. The origins of the Watergate affair can be traced to the 1960s, when many Congressional Democrats and some Republicans allied themselves with the dissident forces that opposed the Vietnam War and supported the domestic social programs that were attacked by the Nixon Administration. These members of Congress sought to prevail over the White House on issues of foreign and domestic policy, and a number of developments in the 1960s and 1970s enabled them to fight and ultimately to defeat the President. As Morris Fiorina has noted, Congress enacted an enormous number of new domestic programs in those years, while its members regularly intervened in the bureaucracy to channel the benefits generated by these programs to their constituents. This process gave incumbent members of Congress a greatly increased electoral advantage, largely insulated Congressional and presidential elections from each other and thus made it politically possible for members of Congress to take on the President.

Also, in a return to nineteenth-century practice, Congress enacted very detailed regulatory statutes and authorized private citizens to sue in the Federal courts to secure their implementation. In effect, by thus using the judiciary, Congress was able to assure constituents with access to the courts that the policies they favored would be implemented regardless of the political sympathies of the Administration in power.

Then too, by establishing linkages with the national news media—especially through nationally televised hearings—members of Congress were able to mobilize nationwide constituencies in support of various policy initiatives, and to pressure their Congressional colleagues into enacting, and the President into signing, legislation designed to remedy the evils the hearings in question had publicized. The 1962 Thalidomide hearings, chaired by Senator Hubert Humphrey, were a pattern-setting example of this technique. Televised hearings could also be used to mobilize national constituencies against the White House. The 1967 Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on Vietnam, chaired by Senator J. William Fulbright, for example, played a crucial role in legitimizing opposition to presidential policies in Southeast Asia.

Finally, alliances with the media and the judiciary provided Congress with a coercive power. In the 1950s, Senators Kefauver, McCarthy and McClellan had demonstrated how televised hearings could be used to harass—and, in conjunction with perjury trials, to imprison—gangsters, left-wingers and union leaders. In the 1960s and early 1970s, other senators used these precedents to pillory and politically weaken employers of migrant labor, corporate polluters and Nixon Administration officials. After the Watergate episode entered its final stages and a special prosecutor was appointed, the Congressional-media-judicial nexus achieved its full coercive capacity and was able to imprison errant Administration officials.

These developments strengthened Congress as a political institution. Liberal political forces especially benefited from this, and in a reversal of their prior stance they became quite vocal in defending the prerogatives of Congress and attacking the "imperial presidency." Thus they were prepared to rally in support of Congress as tensions between the legislative and executive branches in-

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creased during the Nixon years.

Particularly after his re-election in 1972, Nixon responded to these developments by attempting to undermine the new capacities of Congress and the institutions with which it was allied. The President impounded billions of dollars appropriated by Congress and sought to sever its ties with the bureaucracy by reorganizing executive agencies without seeking legislative approval. The White House established the plumbers squad to plug leaks of information to Congress and the press and, its opponents claimed, it sought to undermine the legitimacy of the Supreme Court by nominating Justices who were completely unqualified. The Administration's opponents also claimed that it sought to limit Congress's influence over foreign policy by keeping vital information from it, most notably in the so-called secret bombing of Cambodia.

President Nixon's opponents declared these actions to be abuses of power, and this animated their attack upon him in the Watergate controversy. Congress scored a total victory in that institutional conflict. It won because the bulk of the constituency that had supported assertions of presidential power during the New Deal and postwar period ultimately abandoned Nixon, and because the combination of media exposure, Congressional investigation and judicial process enabled the President's opponents to divide, delegitimize and disrupt his Administration.

It was his defeat in this institutional conflict, not shifts in public opinion, that doomed Richard Nixon. Shifts in public opinion came about as the battle progressed. Indeed, popular opposition to Nixon resulted from the media disclosures and Congressional investigations instigated by his opponents. Public opinion was a product, not the "motive power," of the Watergate affair.

The Iran/contras case can be understood in similar terms. After his election in 1980, Ronald Reagan had undertaken to strengthen the presidency by putting together a new constituency for presidential power and rebuilding the capacity of the executive to act independently of Congress. This endeavor enjoyed reasonable success during his first half-dozen years in office. For example, Congress did not enact a single major new social program; the Administration oversaw the largest peacetime military buildup in the nation's history; and the President demonstrated that it was possible, despite the trauma of Vietnam, for a politician to increase his popularity

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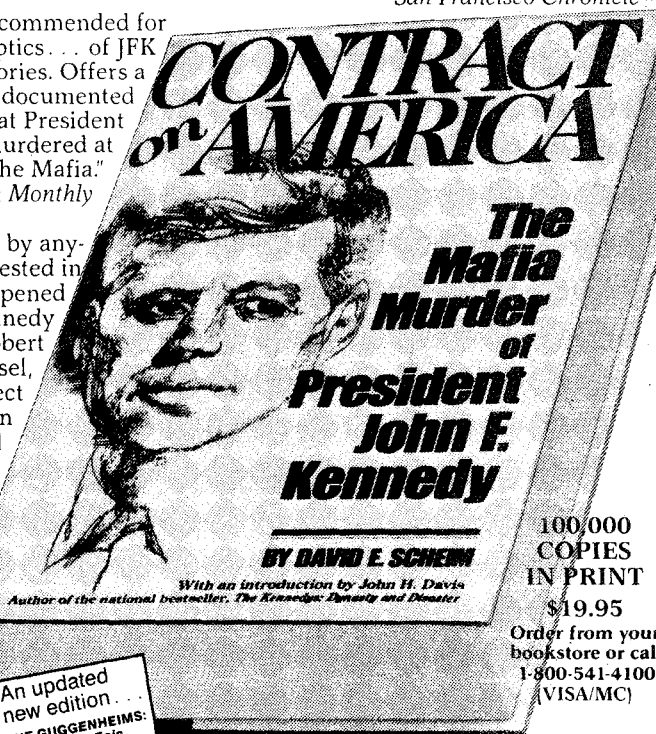
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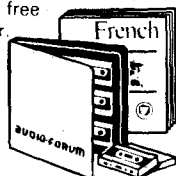
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ty at home by using U.S. forces abroad. Observers generally agreed that Reagan had gone a long way toward restoring the prestige and power of the presidency.

Nonetheless, the President did suffer a number of reversals. After 1983, Congress refused to cut domestic spending any further and after 1985 required the Administration to slow the pace of its rearmament program. In addition, Congress restricted the President's efforts to aid the *contras* in Nicaragua by enacting a series of amendments—the Boland amendments—to foreign military assistance bills. Congressional Democrats further limited that effort by compelling the Central Intelligence Agency to stop mining Nicaragua's harbors, insisting that the agency withdraw a training manual that advocated the assassination of Sandinista cadres and publicizing charges that the *contras* violated human rights. It was in this context that the Reagan Administration undertook to build an alternative intelligence apparatus, attached to the National Security Council. This apparatus enabled the White House to conduct covert operations (such as aid to the *contras*) that the Congress had refused to approve, and to engage in activities (such as Iranian weapons sales) that Congress almost certainly would not countenance.

The eruption of the Iran/*contra* scandal, of course, disrupted the entire Reagan Administration, and to a significant degree shifted the balance of national political power toward institutions that compete with the presidency. The President's difficulties cannot simply be attributed to the fact that his Administration committed a major blunder in selling arms to Iran in exchange for the release of American hostages, and in diverting some of the proceeds from those sales to the *contras*. Scandals such as the Iran/*contra* affair must be understood as political events. Politically damaging revelations are a consequence of efforts by investigators to uncover facts that will embarrass an Administration politically, as much as they are a source of that Administration's difficulties. After all, before November 1986 there were reports in the press that Israel was shipping arms to Iran and that Oliver North was helping the *contras* secure weapons, but neither the media nor Congress undertook to discover the connection. As with Watergate, we must look to other factors.

In particular, two developments weak-

ened the coalition Ronald Reagan had constructed, and served to energize the institutions through which his opponents operated. The first of these was the weakening of labor, liberals and blacks within the Democratic Party, and the strengthening of the party's moderate wing, after Walter Mondale's defeat in 1984. This helped the Democrats win back some of the middle-class and business support they had lost in 1984, and enabled the party to regain control of the Senate in the midterm elections of 1986. The Democrats' success in 1986 emboldened the President's opponents in Congress. In addition, it emboldened the press, which up to that point had treated the Reagan Administration gingerly for fear of alienating its middle-class audience.

The second development that weakened the President was the emerging rift between the White House and the nation's foreign policy establishment. The institutions comprising that establishment—the State Department, the Council on Foreign Relations, organs of elite opinion and so forth—had been upset by the White House's actions during and after the Reykjavik, Iceland, summit, which had caused strains in the Atlantic alliance, and they were appalled by revelations of the extent to which the White House had made policy and conducted sensitive operations in the Middle East and in Central America through Oliver North's alternative foreign policy network. The communications media most closely associated with the foreign policy establishment denounced the "cowboys" in the White House for constructing this alternative network, supported the State Department's virtual declaration of independence after the Iran arms sale scandal erupted and joined in the attack on the Reagan Administration.

Ultimately, the Administration's opponents were able to make use of the same formidable iron triangle of institutions—Congress, the national news media and the Federal judiciary—that had triumphed over the White House in the Watergate affair. And as in the Watergate affair, public opinion about the Reagan Administration's misdeeds was shaped by the revelations and investigations promoted by Reagan's opponents. Again, "what Americans really think" was more the result of a political struggle than the primary factor determining its outcome. The views of pollsters notwithstanding, this is probably the typical state of affairs in American politics. □

Hayden's Workout Book

MARY E. KING

REUNION: A Memoir. By Tom Hayden. Random House. 539 pp. \$22.50.

Twenty-five years after Tom Hayden wrote the Port Huron Statement, he retraced his steps along the shores of Lake Huron and found nothing but a sandy path, some shady groves and a chapel of overhanging tree boughs. A high school history teacher moonlighting as a park ranger confirmed that Hayden was indeed "at the spot." The bungalows of the Michigan A.F.L.-C.I.O. labor camp that had housed the pivotal five-day meeting of Students for a Democratic Society were gone. No marker signified the place where a group of young people, in 1962, issued a declaration that ranks as one of the archetypal documents of American democratic conviction. If Tom Hayden had done nothing else in his life except to be the principal writer of that credo, with its uncompromising call for the participation of students and citizens in major institutions and national decisions, his role in our history would be secured.

Though there is no monument at Port Huron, Hayden rightfully concludes that the vision of the 1960s has taken hold in the United States: "a moral view of human beings, 'ordinary people' in the process of history, a view which held that systems should be designed for human beings and not the other way around." *Reunion: A Memoir* is the bold account of that turbulent decade by its most articulate student leader. It is far more than the autobiography of "a homegrown idealist with a Catholic, Midwestern background," which is how the author describes himself.

I met Tom Hayden when I was working for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Atlanta during the year of Port Huron. With characteristic self-assurance, he began by telling me, as I sat writing at my chaotic desk in the center of the SNCC whirlwind, that he didn't like the frames of my reading glasses because they looked as if they were about to fly off my head! I came to

know him better during his failing marriage to Sandra Cason, then known as Casey Hayden, who was my closest friend in SNCC. He was an aloof figure, brilliantly analytical, keenly interested in the struggle that we called "the movement" and, perhaps most important, he was a person who disturbed my equanimity by insisting on thinking of the long term. Almost all of us in SNCC, whether the blacks or the few of us who were white, were in our early 20s, and so to us setting goals for five years represented a commitment of a quarter or fifth of a lifetime! Hayden confounded me. He challenged us to plan for results that might be as much as ten years in the making and to think in a national context, while I thought one or two years in the conflict was a long time and saw myself in the distinctly regional vortex of a national shame. He would talk about strategies for "the long haul." I pictured a large load being pulled down a remote winding road that trailed off somewhere in the distance, perhaps in the Rockies. Hayden appeared to see where the haul might end.

Since I thought back then that Hayden had a perspective that I lacked, I was surprised to learn from his book that SNCC was the source of political consciousness for him, the standard against which he measured effectiveness, and the defining parameter for the decade. It is one thing for me to consider SNCC without precedent in U.S. history and the crucial catalyst for a generation of protest movements, but it is quite another for me to read about the way in which the organization remains the leitmotif, inspiration and guiding light of Tom Hayden's personal and political mission. His indebtedness to SNCC is especially significant for serious students of the era because that organization's importance has been distorted and diminished by much recent historiography, which characterizes all those who sacrificed in the struggle as merely "followers of Dr. Martin Luther King." Hayden's account of SNCC's germinal role in the decade is clear and welcome.

What happened across the span of the 1960s, and is in no small part attributable to the leadership of Tom Hayden, is that a generation of young Americans took umbrage at a society whose pledges were riddled with paradoxes. They committed themselves to a new order that

would make real what their textbooks called democracy.

The goal of the sixties was, in a sense, the completion of the vision of the early revolutionaries and the abolitionists, for Tom Paine and Frederick Douglass wanted even more than the Bill of Rights or Emancipation Proclamation. True democrats, they wanted the fulfillment of the American promise through a different quality of relations between people, between government and governed, a participatory democracy within a genuinely human community.

It was in exactly this spirit that Hayden arrived in Newark in 1964 to "develop a northern parallel to SNCC." He was at the forefront of a new S.D.S. plan to create organizing projects in some of the country's harshest urban ghettos.

When I first got here a month ago, the people thought the traffic issue problem was a good issue to organize around. I used to think such issues were "superficial," that they didn't deal with root problems, etc., but I've felt my thinking shift bit by bit this year . . . *real* children are killed, all the time. What the city fails to do about such "minor" ills, which are within its ability to correct, is a clear measure of the callousness of the officials.

That same year my mother, youngest brother and I drove to Newark from New York City, where I had taken a Thanksgiving break. My parents had brought Hayden a large turkey to share with the S.D.S. organizers who, as I explained to my folks, were living SNCC-style on what the local people ate—probably what were then called commodity beans. Although I owned almost nothing in those days (a SNCC weekly take-home check usually ran about \$9.64), I possessed the support and encouragement of understanding parents. I did not know until I read *Reunion* that Tom had long been estranged from his divorced parents, particularly his father. This theme of separation is an important one in understanding Hayden's willingness to take enormous risks to do what he believed to be right. I wonder how much his sense of isolation contributed to this courage, for even his account of his family's estrangement is emotionally distant. Hayden still uses his ample analytical skills to deflect emotions, especially in his treatment of his relationships with women.

But there is nothing remote about his account of his total immersion in the campaign to end the war in Vietnam.

Mary E. King is the author of *Freedom Song: A Personal Story of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement* (William Morrow), winner of a 1988 Robert F. Kennedy Book Award.

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When I reached this part of his chronicle, I could not put the book down, and as I regretfully closed its covers one night, I found that it was past 3 A.M. One cannot understand the trajectory of the New Left without understanding that it was liberal Democrats who were the leading supporters of the war in Vietnam. This is a crucial component in comprehending this traumatic and turbulent decade. What made the ethos of the 1960s different from that of other American reform movements was its contempt not for conservatives but for the accommodation and betrayals of liberals. We thought they ought to have known better. *Reunion* portrays this aspect of the decade with clarity and explains one of its most vexing dimensions—what came to be known as the generation gap:

My father's generation believed—correctly—that they had defended democracy against *foreign* despotism; we believed we were defending democracy from its enemies at home. . . . Our parents had seen a case of clear aggression across national boundaries by Nazi Germany in the late thirties. . . . In the wake of the world war, Soviet tanks rolled into Eastern Europe, and five years later the Korean War added new fears about foreign aggression, this time from the Chinese. It was predictable that my parents' generation would accept the official view that a "free" South Vietnam was being invaded by a northern aggressor with six hundred million Chinese waiting in the background. . . . There is even something idealistic in my parents' generation's willingness to support a war against such unbelievable odds. Experience had taken them prisoner, and they failed to see Vietnam as a popular and nationalist struggle, with elements of a civil war, against the new foreigners, who happened to be Americans.

Written in well-scrubbed prose—spare, clean and aptly organized—*Reunion* for the most part avoids a self-serving tone. It is Tom Hayden's story and thus my criticism is somewhat muted. Yet I yearned for more insight into what propelled him. "I still don't know where this messianic sense, this belief in being right, this confidence that we could speak for a generation came from," he says. This does not seem adequate to me. I wanted him to go deeper into himself to try to tell me.

If he sometimes shields himself from scrutiny, however, he also avoids settling scores with old opponents.

Some of his contemporaries will say that in so doing he is not so much taking the high road as deftly portraying himself as a mainstream figure, explaining his radical past, paving the way for a run for Congress. I believe that Hayden's restraint and, yes, decorum in writing about some of the more inflammatory figures of the decade is no mean accomplishment. Recklessness and factionalism jeopardized his world by the turn of the decade, when, as he writes, "language turned to jargon, disputes were elevated to doctrinal heights, paranoia replaced openness, and the struggle to change each other became a substitute for changing the world." But he avoids laying blame.

On the other hand, it is also true that Tom Hayden does not give much credit. The one person he singles out for esteem is Rennie Davis: "I must say of Rennie that he persevered like no other. He will always be the true hero of the anti-war movement for me." We can also infer that he admired his lawyer, Leonard Weinglass.

No one who was there when SNCC began in 1960 was present when it destroyed itself seven or eight years later, yet Tom Hayden was "there" when the decade dawned and, remarkably, he was still "there" when it ended. In his conclusion, Hayden lifts his hopes for the years ahead.

Those who experienced the inner reality of Vietnam—from the end of police clubs or in jungle darkness—will unite around a more mature foreign policy, based on the strength of democracy.

The quality of life will replace the quantity of possessions as America's standard of excellence in our lifetime.

A new generation of entrepreneurs will come to learn that human and natural resources require cultivation rather than depletion.

Democracy and human rights will grow more powerfully contagious in a world linked by satellites and television.

Tom Hayden has masterfully assayed the 1960s. He found some fool's gold but he also found the real thing. Sharing successes and accomplishments along with false starts and sadness, *Reunion* is Hayden's saga, to be sure, but it is also the bittersweet ledger of a scarred generation that is continuing to heal its wounds as it assumes national leadership. The legacy of this decade, as Hayden sees it, is finally one of faith in the judgment and potency of "ordinary" people in our democracy. □

Yippies and the Mobe

MARTY JEZER

CHICAGO '68. By David Farber. *The University of Chicago Press*. 304 pp. \$19.95.

Chicago '68 captures the radical movement of the 1960s at its breaking point, the moment it lost sight of its political goals and its determination to influence public opinion. Protesting the Democratic National Convention in Chicago that August, activists veered off in quest of a revolutionary hallucination that had as much to do with hedonism as it did with ending the Vietnam War.

Author David Farber doesn't make so bold a claim; the conclusion can be derived from the evidence his narrative lays out. "At Chicago," Farber writes, "many of the main performers of the 1960s played out their violently different understandings of political process, daily life, and what it meant to be an American." Movement myth-makers claimed victory because "the whole world was watching" as the nation's repressive and brutal political system was unmasked before the television eye. And so it was. But the same cameras also exposed the movement as a public scourge. After Chicago, polls consistently showed Americans to be both opposed to the Vietnam War and repelled by the movement to end it.

David Farber, 11 years old, was living in Chicago when the convention took place. With his long-haired friends, he set out to "see the hippies" encamped in Lincoln Park. Police in riot gear blocked their passage, so Farber went home to watch the ensuing battles on television. Now a historian, he draws on a variety of sources, especially the records of the Chicago Study Team of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, to reconstruct events.

As a veteran of the Chicago demonstrations and a former movement journalist with an insider's view of the planning, I can attest to the fairness of Farber's judgments and the accuracy of his account. If at times his prose fails to convey the emotional intensity that fueled

the confrontation, he does understand the stakes: Both sides were fighting for legitimacy, for the right to represent the nation in the public mind.

Farber tells his story in three sections: from the perspectives of the Yippies, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and Mayor Richard Daley and the Chicago police. A concluding analysis, too narrow I think, focuses on the movement's rejection of electoral politics in exchange for street confrontation, on the political uses of the media and on the unclear distinction within the movement between culture and politics. What's missing is the broader political picture: By going off on a quasi-revolutionary tangent, did the movement miss an opportunity to actually end the war?

In Farber's account, the Yippies and the Mobe constitute a textbook case on how not to run a movement or organize a demonstration. The Yippies, at least, had a good idea: They took up the challenge of organizing disaffected youth and turning the hippie rebellion in a political direction. Abbie Hoffman was convinced he could exploit the media to sell revolution the way Madison Avenue sold Brillo; certainly the Yippies had a genius for inflammatory speech and theatrical provocation, publicizing a Festival of Life to mark off the emerging counterculture as an alternative to the Democrats' Convention of Death. Buckminster Fuller, Allen Ginsberg and other wise men (this being pre-women's liberation) would lead workshops and draft a new Constitution. A free rock concert would bring in the crowds. Thousands of young men would burn their draft cards, the flames choreographed to spell "Beat Army." To a movement short on humor, this was irresistible.

It was also fantasy. Focusing as he does on the Yippie leadership instead of on the countercultural milieu in which they were organizing, Farber underestimates the allure that the youth culture had for Hoffman, Rubin and other children of the 1950s, who wanted to make revolution fun. Sex, drugs and rock and roll proved easier to sell than revolutionary ethics. In the end, the youth culture was more effective at disorganizing the Yippies than the Yippies were at politicizing it. LSD, used not only for recreation but as an ersatz philosopher's stone, encouraged the Yippies to confuse their own subjective fantasies with

objective reality. It was enough for them to publicize an idea; they didn't have to do the nuts-and-bolts organizing to make it work. Rubin, unlike Hoffman, wanted a confrontation with authority more than he cared about a Festival of Life. He was willing for the movement to take its lumps, believing that repression would toughen it for the battles ahead and would polarize the nation—to the movement's gain. Mayor Daley played into his hands, but Rubin's analysis was wrong.

The Mobe represented the more respectable and supposedly responsible elements in the antiwar coalition, but Farber shows that its planning was equally confused. As a coalition united around the lowest common denominator of laundry-list demands—for peace, against racism, ad infinitum—the Mobe tried to appeal to everyone but lacked a compelling vision for people to rally around. Its constituency was indeterminate, representing the people who turned out for any given demonstration: Leadership and rank and file were unaccountable to one another. At the march on the Pentagon in October 1967 the Mobe achieved a splendid balance: a legal rally, civil disobedience, an essentially non-violent confrontation with the troops, and Yippie theater—something for all. But after the Pentagon the mood of the activist community changed. Mobe leaders began meeting with the North Vietnamese and N.L.F., and the always ambiguous line between anti-interventionism (which is within the context of American politics) and solidarity with the Vietnamese (which slipped easily into anti-Americanism) disappeared.

In this context, for Yippies as well as for the Mobe, nonviolence lost its hold. Mobile tactics—running through the streets, disrupting traffic and baiting the police—became the order of the day. The "pigs" (i.e., the police) became the most visible target of rage. Many in the movement were attracted to violence, determined to seem tough. Rubin, for example, acquired a husky biker for a bodyguard, taking it as a sign that white, working-class youth were ready to fight on the Yippie side. So determined were activists to appear antisocial that it occurred to no one that Rubin's protector was a cop. Farber cites intelligence figures showing that one in six demonstrators in Chicago was a police agent. My guess is that this is just the intelligence community boasting, but the ranks of the demonstrators were certainly rife with *agents provocateurs*. And the mood of the movement was such that many ac-

Marty Jezer is the author of The Dark Ages: Life in the United States, 1945–1960 (South End Press). In 1968 he wrote for the underground press and was an editor of Win.

tivists approved of their provocations.

Dave Dellinger, Tom Hayden and Rennie Davis, who organized Chicago in the name of the Mobe, understood that a peaceful protest was a tactical necessity. Dellinger, a pacifist, didn't comprehend the intensity of the movement's rejection of nonviolence. But as with Hoffman and Rubin, the adventuristic rhetoric that Davis and Hayden used to publicize Chicago made a mockery of their tactical plan. Organized to stop the war, the Mobe upped the ante in Chicago and set out to challenge the legitimacy of the entire political system. The

Yippies, for their part, had a vision of an alternative society, however fantastic. Mobe demands were a thin substitute for an actual political program.

The rejection of electoral politics was not implicit in the idea of participatory democracy put forward by the New Left in Tom Hayden's Port Huron Statement. But the movement's experience in the South and, decisively, at the 1964 Democratic Convention (a turning point Farber ignores), when Hubert Humphrey was given the vice presidency as the reward for selling out the Mississippi Freedom Democrats, heightened its

disillusion with the electoral process. This sense of betrayal meshed with Dellinger's belief that a new society would somehow emerge through the process of nonviolent struggle. Those activists who had given up on representative democracy — and who were also ready to junk nonviolence — stood with Dellinger in believing that electoral action was a cop-out, incompatible with direct action. In such a mood, the Mobe urged hundreds of thousands of activists to demonstrate in Chicago.

But Daley's refusal to grant permits for either a legal demonstration or the Festival of Life and his determination to use physical force to intimidate the protesters frightened away all but the movement's militant hard core. The police, as Farber tells it, saw themselves not so much as defenders of the Vietnam War but as upholders of neighborhood virtue and family life. The activists who came to Chicago — young, single, transient, in rebellion against the humdrum world — were insensitive, if not hostile, to these concerns. Luckily for them, the police made no distinction between the Yippies, Mobe supporters and McCarthy delegates, all of whom were perceived as outsiders. The tear gas that wafted through the city made everyone a victim, and when the police began beating journalists, the demonstrators got a sympathetic press and a moment of television glory. But alongside the images of cops beating kids was a more telling message: protesters attacking a way of life that, even if the television viewers did not all cherish it uncritically, was more meaningful than anything the movement had to offer.

As good as Farber is at describing the social fallout from the Chicago demonstrations, he misses a political failure that is more significant: In attacking the legitimacy of the Democratic Party and in provoking a backlash that contributed to Richard Nixon's election, the movement sabotaged the possibility of ending the Vietnam War. Paul Joseph, in *Cracks in the Empire* (published by South End Press in 1981 and largely ignored), shows that by August 1968 the power brokers within the Democratic party were determined to find a way out of Vietnam. Whether he wanted to or not, Humphrey as President would have had to end American involvement or risk the dissolution of the Democratic Party. The antiwar movement in Chicago at this decisive moment didn't comprehend that its influence was growing

"The real option that faces us is: Either there will be a Palestinian state in our neighborhood or we shall become a Palestinian state."

—Former Israeli Major General
Yehoshafat Harkabi
Belfast on the Jordan
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and that its strength lay not with militant posturing but with public opinion, which was in fact making itself heard.

This review is not an apology for my own enthusiastic advocacy of the Chicago fiasco. Nor is it an exercise in the all-

too-easy sport of sixties-bashing. Situations as explosive as Chicago are sure to come around again. *Chicago '68* alerts us to the kind of sophisticated analysis and disciplined choices that the American left must learn to make. □

No Aid, No News, No Rights

JOSEPH MENN

REFUGEES OF A HIDDEN WAR: The Aftermath of Counterinsurgency in Guatemala. By Beatriz Manz. SUNY Press. 283 pp. \$49.50. Paper \$16.95.

GUATEMALA: Eternal Spring, Eternal Tyranny. By Jean-Marie Simon. W.W. Norton. 256 pp. \$35. Paper \$19.95.

It is neither callous nor hyperbolic to say that one of Guatemala's largest political problems is the sheer ignorance of U.S. citizens about that country's plight. Central America's most populous state, and among the richest per capita, Guatemala has gone virtually unnoticed by the mass media here during two decades of slaughter that have resulted in 100,000 political assassinations and 40,000 "disappeared."

During the early 1980s, while bloodshed was earning Guatemala its reputation as the worst human rights violator in the Western Hemisphere, journalists in search of an easy news "peg" were covering Nicaragua and El Salvador. In part, they were buying into the Reagan Administration's theory that Guatemala's military dictatorship, installed in a 1954 C.I.A. coup, would have its day of reckoning soon enough. But that day never came.

Few decent political, economic or anthropological books have appeared on Guatemala, primarily because it is a forbidding, often outright dangerous place for both researchers and sources. Now, after two years of a civilian presidency—and a concurrent increase in U.S. aid from nothing (officially) to nearly \$200 million, the silence has finally been broken.

Despite a somewhat confining apolitical approach, Beatriz Manz's *Refugees of a Hidden War: The Aftermath of Counterinsurgency in Guatemala*, is a welcome and thoroughly documented account of the terror unleashed on Guatemala's Indians, who make up half of the country's population of 8 million. The far more ac-

cessible *Guatemala: Eternal Spring, Eternal Tyranny*, by Jean-Marie Simon, provides a human perspective on the beauty and evil of the country from a gifted photographer and human rights advocate who has spent much of the past eight years there.

Most of the anthropological fieldwork for Manz's book took place during the tense period when power was being transferred from the army to Christian Democrat Vinicio Cerezo Arévalo. The case studies of towns and army-administered "model villages," each informed by dozens of anonymous interviews with civilian, military and church officials, relief workers and internal refugees, show that few fundamental changes took place despite U.S. claims of a "return to democracy." Certainly in the areas with a history of guerrilla activity—the main focus of the book—local decisions about everything from who is to be shot for subversion to which potholes are to be filled remain in the hands of military commanders.

Manz is especially concerned with the possibility of safe repatriation for the more than 100,000 Guatemalan refugees now in Mexico. Tracing the stories of some who tried to return to their villages—about 400 of which have been destroyed by the army—Manz finds that returnees are routinely held for days or weeks in army camps, sometimes tortured and often forced to move to model villages with insufficient food. Manz also describes bloody incursions by Guatemalan security forces into Mexican refugee camps just across the border. At the book's close, she concludes that the refugees are currently at risk if they return—indeed, the vast majority haven't—and predicts severe social and economic problems when and if they do go home.

Manz did her research at the beginning of what is now a major push by the army into the northwestern department of Quiché to flush out Indians who have been hiding there since the beginning of the "times of trouble." According to the study's informants, these internal refugees (depicted by the government as

"collaborators" until after they are "liberated") are often forced to help the military locate others in hiding. If they don't cooperate, they are shot.

As for everyday existence in the remote towns, the dominant facts of life are still hunger, humiliation and fear. These problems are intensified in the two dozen model villages, patterned after Vietnam's strategic hamlets, where tens of thousands of Guatemalan Indians are crowded together under continual military supervision. The army has two chief methods of control: its pervasive network of *orejas*, or informers (reporting on one's fellows is one of the very few ways to earn cash), and the civil defense patrols. Service in the civil defense patrols is mandatory for men in most of the country. Patrollers serve twelve- or twenty-four hour unpaid shifts at the direction of the army, once every few days or weeks, depending on the size of the village and the "stability" of the area. For most farmers, patrol duty is a severe economic burden, and unauthorized absences are generally punished by beatings and forced squatting or standing in pits half filled with water.

Refugees of a Hidden War lends new authority to the largely unheeded appeals of human rights groups such as Americas Watch, Amnesty International and the indigenous Mutual Support Group for relatives of the disappeared, but the book has its shortcomings. To begin with, it does not provide an adequate sense of Guatemalan history. For that one must rely on a book like Michael McClintock's *The American Connection, Volume II* (Zed Books, London). There is also no political analysis of the current situation. This omission is especially unfortunate, given the overwhelming evidence that Cerezo and his political allies live in fear of the military and of far-right death squads. Cerezo himself, once an advocate of land reform, has implied on several occasions that he would be killed if he tried to implement any such program.

These are deficiencies, but *Refugees of a Hidden War* is nevertheless a precise and informative anthropological work, one of the best—and one of the few—recent additions to the study of Guatemala.

Jean-Marie Simon's *Eternal Spring, Eternal Tyranny* should reach a broader audience than Manz's book. It makes skillful use of anecdotal material to balance its recitation of statistics and brings the focus up close on the country and its suffering. Simon has covered

Joseph Menn is a reporter at the Los Angeles Times.

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Guatemala for *Time*, Americas Watch and Amnesty International, so she knows a great deal about the connection between U.S. press coverage, U.S. foreign policy and human rights in Guatemala. As she puts it, "No aid, no news, no rights."

Interspersed with the historical commentary in *Guatemala* are eyewitness accounts of massacres of entire villages, testimonials from men who used rubber hoods to torture suspected subversives, and harrowing descriptions from people who narrowly escaped joining the ranks of the disappeared. Together with the photographs—of the army, the guerrillas, the innocent families and the countryside itself—these personal histories allow Simon to convey with real feeling as much as can be gleaned from Guatemala's tragedy. □

THEATER.

THOMAS M. DISCH

The Mistress of the Inn

Carlo Goldoni's *La Locandiera* is of all plays Italian the one dearest to my heart, because I read it in Italian. Without a pony, looking up the words in a dictionary, I read the thing from beginning to end. My Italian had reached just that level of minimal competence that I could deal with the language's least demanding author, and it's been downhill ever since. I am not a polyglot. But once I did read *La Locandiera*; the fact's been recorded in heaven.

I did not enjoy it. Slow journeys through old books are rarely undertaken for pleasure. But putting aside the special disabilities I brought to the text as a student, I didn't see how it could ever be brought to life on stage. The story and the characters seemed crude, the dialogue bland and witless. I have the same reaction to Italian primitive painting up to and including Giotto. I have enough faith in constituted authority to assume that I must be wrong, and to believe, despite a philistine impulse to snicker in front of a twelfth-century altarpiece that looks like a bad tattoo, that the object is a work of art. And similarly, with Goldoni, I was prepared to believe that the crudities of *La Locandiera* would become *crudités*, full of zest and snap, once a capable director and a good cast applied some professional know-how. So when the Roundabout Theatre Company

announced that they would be doing *The Mistress of the Inn* with Tovah Feldshuh in the title role of Mirandolina, I was delighted to think I'd have a chance at last to see what I was missing.

As usual the Roundabout delivered an energetic, straightforward rendition of the text, and if the manner of delivery was not exactly the modified *commedia dell'arte* style pioneered by Goldoni, it was the nearest contemporary equivalent, a kind of operetta without music. The assumptions of the operetta world aren't Goldoni's, but they serve the purpose, which is to let the players fill in the blanks of the text with a heightened charm or silliness that yields not so much the illusion of life as a sense of liveliness. Goldoni's plays may, in his own time, have startled audiences with their mimetic truth (relative to the formula clowning they emerged from), but to a contemporary audience it is the simplicity and garishness of the enterprise that we respond to. And that is how Andrew Marlay has costumed it: Mirandolina wears a gown of 1950s kitchen colors, pink and turquoise, over a petticoat trimmed with ribbons in screaming primary colors; her red-laced sulfur-yellow shoes add a final, eye-searing anti-grace.

The story could not be simpler. Three noblemen live at the inn run by Mirandolina. Two are already smitten with her charms, but the third affects to hate women. Mirandolina proves herself irresistible, but when the third nobleman's resistance has been worn down by her good linens, savory cooking, singing and a fainting spell, he departs the inn, and Mirandolina is still fated, unromantically, to wed the senior male servant in her employ. Class conquers all. The jokes that trick out the plot are the sort you could share with a housepet: Sometimes the bell prefiguring a juicy morsel is only a tease, but then the morsel arrives. There is some token tomfoolery, but it comes across as ritualistic. Not exactly a laugh riot; more the warm glow of watching children in a playground.

It is as a time machine that *The Mistress of the Inn* has most to offer, a candid camera aimed at the mores and small talk of an era unlighted (in Italy) by the art of the novel. Had Goldoni's wit been as timeless as that of his near-contemporaries Congreve and Sheridan, his plays would have less value as simulations of quotidian life in *settecento* Italy. His corpus of some 200 plays is like a time capsule crammed with four

decades of his era's favorite soap operas and sitcoms, an endowment more valuable in many ways than an equivalent portion of genius, if the specific quality of genius is timelessness. Goldoni's plays embody the received wisdom of their day concerning the staples of daily life: sex, food, money, class and how these variables correlate with age, energy level and luck. In short, the topics of common gossip.

La Locandiera is one of his most significant plays because it amiably demystifies a story that will be told and retold for the next two centuries—as *Manon Lescaut*, as *La Traviata*, as *Madame Butterfly*. In those stories women of charm and sexual passion command the love of men of a higher social station and come to ruin as a result. In *La Locandiera* Goldoni would have us know that while he condones the opportunism of Mirandolina, who pursues her own mercenary goals while seeming to serve the domestic and amatory needs of counts and marquesses, he draws the line at marriage. When romance threatens to breach class barriers, Goldoni counsels a man of discretion, like his Cavaliere di Ripafratta, to quit the field. So much for Cinderella! So much for Richardson's *Pamela*, which Goldoni had adapted for the stage three years before writing *La Locandiera*; this play reads, indeed, like his revenge on that unwelcome task.

While the action of the play is unremarkable, the title role, when performed by an actress of star quality, is a vehicle that travels a surprising distance, considering that it is fueled mostly by charm. One of the play's most notable clevernesses is the way Goldoni advances his own (masculine) agenda by using the just-between-us-gals mask of Mirandolina and her constant asides to the ladies in the audience. It is like watching a skillful hypnotist at work, inveigling a suggestible subject to concoct a past life congruent with the hypnotist's expectations. Tovah Feldshuh embellishes the role with a judicious assortment of personal mannerisms—a squeak of delight, a look-at-this-will-you thrust to her breasts, a skipping walk, a sudden birdlike tilt of the head. It is easy to credit her account of how she develops her roles: "Acting is not a mental thing. It is ultimately a body activity with the mind quiet." Goldoni, could he have seen her, might well have pinched her behind as a token of approval, and he'd have given his nod to Marlay's costumes

and Wolfgang Roth's scenery as well.

I doubt, though, that he'd have applauded more than politely for the four male leads. Edward Zang is a creditable and credible old skinflint, and if George Ede is not as funny in the complementary role of Conte d'Albafiorita, the fault is Goldoni's as much as his own: The Conte has few laugh-lines, and only a single quirk, nouveau-riche munificence. Neither Gabriel Barre, as the servant who wins his mistress's hand, nor Philip Kerr as the would-be woman-hater Ripafratta shine brighter than is strictly required, but then they are present chiefly to partner the leading lady.

Would a more lavishly imagined production have been truer to the spirit of Goldoni? Having just seen Peter Sellars's updated version of *Figaro*, I wondered if Goldoni might benefit from similar treatment. The key to such a treatment is not far to seek. In a *Theater Week* interview, Tovah Feldshuh declares, "Mirandolina is really Leona Helmsley without the bad publicity." No, I think an updating of Goldoni would expose his primitive comedy. More promising, at least in concept, was an Italian production of 1971 "with randy and impoverished noblemen guzzling and tumbling fly-blown actresses against the background of a sleazy inn"—a Dutch genre painting approach, in effect. But that would probably be effective only for Italians who'd seen enough Goldoni plays performed in a traditional lace-cuffs manner to appreciate a grittier texture. For an American audience, which has probably never seen a Goldoni play, and probably won't again, the Roundabout's production, as directed by Robert Kalin, fulfills the basic requirement. It takes us reasonably close to the destination Goldoni had in mind.

The Roundabout must surely be accounted the city's most consistently accomplished curator of classic theater. Even when I have not been able to think of anything to write about one of their productions (as I could not for the Victorian farce *Dandy Dick*) I have usually enjoyed myself, or at the very least felt that I'd had my money's worth. The limited runs, which only open to the press after two or three weeks of previews, tend to diminish the practical value of my commendations in this column, so let me, sight unseen, recommend their next subscription season, which will feature *Ghosts*, *Enrico IV*, *The Member of the Wedding*, *The Tempest* and *Privates on Parade*. □

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LETTERS.

(Continued From Page 258)

When, in a letter to the *Stanford Daily* in 1947, I denounced the Truman doctrine, the director of the Hoover Institution, Professor Harold Fisher, who had invited me to that university as a research fellow, was asked: "Why is Mandel here?" The reply was: "Because he knows more about the Soviet Union than anyone in the United States." I was completing a one-man encyclopedia of the Soviet Union. The cold war atmosphere prevented its publication, contracted for.

Today Fisher's statement could not be made about anyone, including myself, because the field has become so sub-specialized. But I have hardly stood still. To my two books published on the Soviet Union before blacklisting, three more have been added, the most recent in 1985. I have contributed, on invitation, chapters to half a dozen symposium books by others. Articles of mine have appeared in the *American Behavioral Scientist*, *California Social Science Review*, *Current Anthropology*, *Environment*, *Slavic Review*, etc. I have taught in the sociology department at the University of California, Berkeley; at San Francisco and San Jose State universities; and at the Golden Gate University Law School.

There's the rub. All the teaching was in consequence of student demands that I be invited to do so. Since the decline of student activity, no invitation anywhere. Yet no criticism of my teaching was ever made to me by any university, department or faculty, while I have files of enthusiastic letters from my students.

But to readmit to the academic world someone who wrote forty-four years ago that the Gorbachev changes could and would come would be as embarrassing to academic Sovietology as to admit Roy Medvedev to his rightful place in Soviet academe. Yet both are necessary for the complete emergence of our respective countries from the stultification of thought arising ultimately out of the anti-Communism that produced the fourteen-nation intervention against Lenin's Russia in 1918-20. Which will happen first?

And, candidly, as someone who has been able to hold the sophisticated audience of Pacifica Radio for thirty-one years in a weekly program on the Soviet Union, and who had a two-year-long public television program on the same subject before HUAC hit me in 1960, I wonder when the commercial media will give me the exposure they give Soviet dissenters.

William M. Mandel

THE WRONG CAN OF WORDS

New York City

Hank Lazer's article on the language poets ["Radical Collages," July 2/9] served admirably as a down-to-earth introduction to this somewhat up-in-the-air school. I'm glad the first extended discussion in *The Nation* was

sympathetic. Perhaps a more critical analysis might follow.

For example, one could examine the philosophical theories that, for the language poets, take the place that is occupied for other writers by emotion, sensuous pleasure and the love of literature. Must these theories be taken seriously? If so, must they result in writings with the texture and allure of drying asphalt?

The answer to the first question is yes. The language poets borrow their theories from highly respectable thinkers, all of whom are agony to read. The answer to the second question is no. Just because reading Derrida is like dragging your naked body through a bed of hot coals and broken glass doesn't mean that poets have to copy the effect.

The language poets argue that the discontinuous, self-contradictory yet ideological nature of writing must be emphasized. Yet if their theories are valid (as I believe they are), then all writing is *already* full of discontinuities, etc. Why build what's already been constructed? The language poets also seek to overcome the ideology that dominates writing (and dominates through writing). Fine. But since they believe that the unity of any given piece of writing is fictitious, how can they think that a large body of writings (and the criticism written about them) is somehow unified as an ideology? Why tear down what's already in ruins?

The final questionable theory is that of non-referentiality. It is now a commonplace that in any sign (that is, any combination of signifier and signified), the signifier does not refer to a single, solid thing but rather to a network of other signifiers. The logic of this argument is too complex to summarize in a letter; for the moment, let the reader accept or deny it at will. My point is that the language poets expand this analysis of the sign into a new version of Zeno's Paradox. By taking the individual word, rather than the sentence, as the unit of meaning, they prove that language never arrives at a reference to shared experience (or what us common folk call the real world). Sure—and Achilles never overtakes the tortoise.

I would suggest that the language poets are barking down the wrong can of worms. Their philosophical theories were more useful in the texts from which they were borrowed. Their political goals would be attained more easily by aspiring to the clarity and wit that the *New York Post* demands of its sports writers. As for poetry, try thinking of it this way: The substance of literature is not language. It's words.

Stuart Klawans

ADDENDUM

The publisher of the Institute for Policy Studies' *Winning America: Ideas and Leadership for the 1990s*, mentioned in David Corn's "Battle of the Brain Trusts" (July 16/23), is South End Press.

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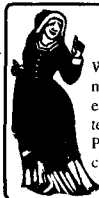


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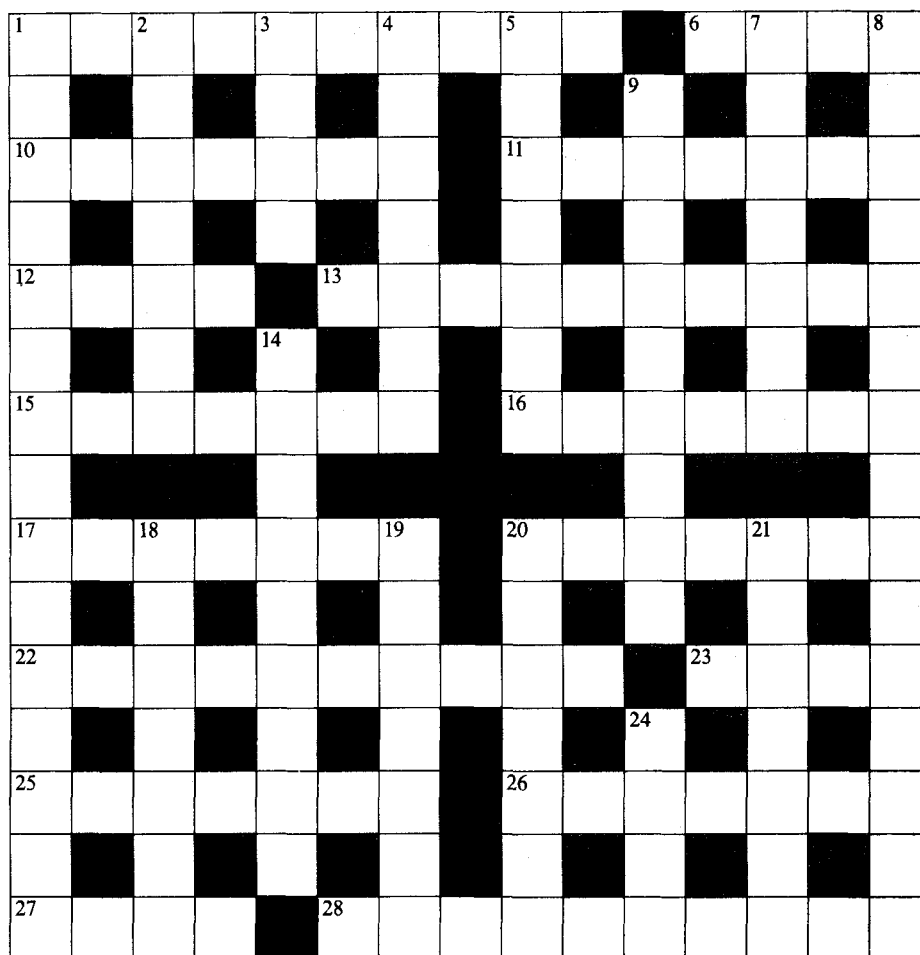


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FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 and 6 The legal problem of "54-40 or Fight!"? (Not an obvious situation of right or wrong!) (10,4)
- 10 Instead of the wrong cross-connection, its symbol might have well been a bundle of rods with an axe, signifying power in the old days. (7)
- 11 Big house constructed by a mason in trouble. (7)
- 12 Be prolific with the players on the field, by the sound of it, and get together in return. (4)
- 13 Trivial etymological connection with such, but some have asked why chickens do it! (10)
- 15 Adverse (but novel) character. (7)
- 16 The last sort of thing that burglars come up with! (7)
- 17 Their components make what sounds like sense, but you might get pounds of them overseas. (7)
- 20 and 18 down His address in Pennsylvania is rather well known, though he is responsible for a variety of Brahma being taken to a place in Nebraska. (7,7)
- 22 A T.N.T. explosion has a quantity equivalent to the answer. (10)
- 23 It might be a good indication of the return of a famous submarine captain. (4)
- 25 There's nothing in the official list that defines "barnyard denizen" . . . (7)
- 26 . . . and a "box tier" for another bird. (7)
- 27 Make like a bird, perhaps? Do it twice, and it means jail! (4)
- 28 Goes in to fly around a mouse without a tail, which is how the villain behaved. (10)

DOWN

- 1 Near perfectly conditioned deserts, as they say, little cakes move this way somewhat haphazardly. (2,4,3,6)
- 2 Is the scepter made to show what some might have for the crown? (7)
- 3 Liver-after, according to a famous orator—returning at the beginning. (4)
- 4 Escapees take it on first, with the hunted animal being a creature of the sea. (7)
- 5 She might be associated with the evening, in a sense, but seems in trouble here . . . (7)
- 7 . . . and the maid traditionally has a great beginning, but ends in trouble. (7)
- 8 He wrote about an old sailor and seabirds—the China method. (6,9)
- 9 I hurried up to see what a horse sometimes does—one shouldn't get behind this way. (2,7)
- 14 A portion in the 21, for example, might have been called a small one with a couple of stripes. (9)
- 18 See 20 across.
- 19 May be quite attached to the costume of the Scot, as is shown by the clasp, or rank indication. (7)
- 20 Strange men in what some consider a strange place—one doesn't carry a lot of memories with it. (7)
- 21 Sounds as though it should be the funny bone! (7)
- 24 It might involve a gamble for the old Egyptian, by the sound of it.

TIME TO DISSOCIATE FROM ISRAELI POLICIES

This historic statement has already been endorsed by hundreds of American Jews including Jewish Professors at 79 Universities. Please Join With Us.

We are Americans and Jews and we come together at this time publicly to express our strong desire to see the United States take meaningful steps to dissociate our country from the policies of Israel.

For some years we have witnessed Israel increasingly deviating from political policies that we find acceptable and from moral values that we hold dear. These developments are not the responsibility of any particular political party in Israel but rather stem, in our judgement, from a tragically misguided approach toward the Arab world in which Israel is located, a racist ideology and a growing militancy. We can no longer condone or be associated with such Israeli behavior, nor, do we believe, should our country.

In recent years Israel has twisted away from basic commitments made at Camp David in 1978; annexed further territories, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, while continuing to expand settlements in all the occupied territories; and grotesquely invaded Lebanon, resulting in the death of tens of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians as well as hundreds of Israelis and Americans, and the taking as hostages of others.

Furthermore, Israeli policies and attitudes toward the Palestinian people have made it evident that only major changes in Israel's basic posture will allow for a peaceful political settlement with the Palestinians.

Israeli complicity in Irangate and Contragate coupled with Israel's employment of American Jews as spies against our country further underscore the growing dangers inherent in the current U.S.-Israeli relationship. The close identification in the public mind between Israel and Jews - an equation vigorously fostered by both the Zionist movement and the American Jewish lobby, which has come under its control - threatens to stigmatize Jews everywhere.

The recent acts of killings, beatings, curfews, expulsions and house arrests - all against unarmed Palestinians living in areas Israel has occupied for 20 years - further demonstrate that Israel has become a badly divided country with many unfortunate similarities to the situation that prevails in South Africa.

Our ancestors came to the United States because, as a result of their Jewishness, they were discriminated against and abused. The European experience culminated in the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust. How tragic that in our own time the very State established by Jews in the aftermath of this evil has become a place where racialism, religious discrimination, militarism and injustice prevail; and that Israel itself has become a pariah state within the world community. Events taking place today are all too reminiscent of the pogroms from which our own forefathers fled two and three generations ago - but this time those in

authority are Jews and the victims are Moslem and Christian Palestinians.

We believe that Israel's course could not be maintained but for the continuing financial, political, military and covert support of the U.S. government. And we fear that unless firm steps of disengagement from Israel are taken now our country might get dragged into a major war if which preparations are under way.

In addition, we believe that unless the United States takes serious steps to distance itself from Israel the Israelis will mistakenly continue to think that the course they are on is acceptable to the American people.

For all these reasons we believe the time has come to **normalize** the U.S. relationship with Israel. A complete re-evaluation of what has become since 1967 the American sponsorship of Israel is required. The unprecedented amounts of economic aid should be cut back over the next two to three years to much smaller levels. Furthermore, the considerable military and intelligence assistance should also be radically reduced.

Unfortunately, during the years of the Reagan Administration much the opposite course has been followed, and Israel has practically become a ward of the United States. In this election year we urge an open debate about the serious problems and dangers which have resulted from the current structure of U.S.-Israeli relations. Few foreign policy issues are of such importance to our country. Consequently we urge our leading politicians to resist the widespread inhibition

from speaking up about Israel, inhibition which result from the severe financial, political and ideological pressures often brought to bear against those who do.

We further believe that the time is overdue for negotiations between the Israeli government and the PLO, which is quite clearly the chosen representative for the great majority of Palestinians - negotiations that should quickly lead to a Palestinian state in the occupied territories and reasonable security guarantees for all parties. In the security guarantees we think our country should participate; but no longer in the financing and supporting of the kinds of policies Israel has been pursuing. The continual oppression and denial of Palestinians of their right to self-determination is an injustice which has become intolerable not only to those demonstrating for their freedom in Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza and throughout Israel itself.

The citizens of Israel, of course, will ultimately choose their own country's destiny. But at the very least the citizens of the United States should stop financing and supporting policies that are contrary to the principles and values we hold precious as Americans and Jews.

We are Americans & Jews

We support reducing aid to Israel

We support the Palestinian "Intifada" for a Palestinian State

We support open discussion of these vital issues

Please Join Us

U.S. Financing for Israel is now nearly \$10 million daily.



"The daily conflict is not an event anymore, it's part of the landscape. It is 'the new Israel'."

Bob Simon, CBS News
(8 June '88)

"We...endorse...establishment of a sovereign and independent Palestinian State in all of the occupied territories. We call...on the Government of Israel to open talks with the P.L.O."

Joint Committee of Israeli & Palestinian Writers & Artists (3 March '88)

"Journalists are now continually stopped from approaching any trouble spots"

Martin Fletcher, NBC News
(3 June '88)

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